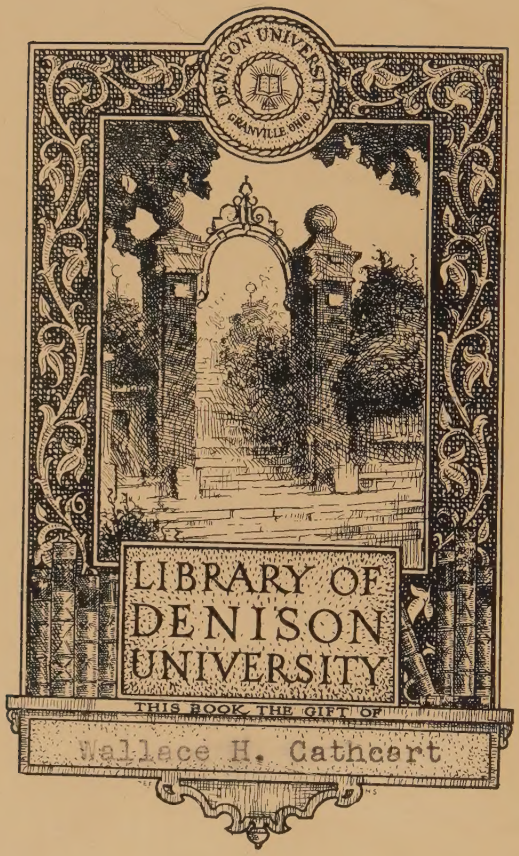
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QUEEN MARY OF MODENA: HER LIFE AND LETTERS

JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD
THE OLD CHEVALIER

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A. S. Belle.

James at Bar-le-Duc.

JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD

THE OLD CHEVALIER

BY

MARTIN HAILE

WITH 11
PHOTOGRAVURE
ILLUSTRATIONS

1907

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PREFACE

During the collection of material for a life of Queen Mary of Modena, so much that was interesting came to light with regard to her son as to suggest an attempt to write his life, as a sequel to that of the Queen. The purpose was strengthened by the discovery, that much as had been written—and generally to his detriment—during the hundred and forty years which had elapsed since his death, no connected biography of Prince James Francis Edward had yet been published. The chief source of information respecting the prince, his character and his career, lay in the vast collection of Stuart MSS. at Windsor Castle; but their publication by the Historical Manuscript Commission had not proceded beyond the year 1716, and I owe to the permission of H.M. the King the great privilege of access to the original documents. The study of these documents showed how distorted was the picture which the exigencies of party, the prejudices of political and religious animosity, had presented of the last Stuart king crowned in Scotland, of the man who held so marked a place in the history of the eighteenth century.

It was of absorbing interest to find how large a share Jacobitism held in the life of England during the seventy-eight years between the downfall of James II. and the death of his son; and how great a mistake it is to regard the insurrections of 1715 and '45 as isolated occurrences; they were but the overflowing of a persistent current, which it required all the power and skill of William III. and the two first Georges and their Ministers, and of the Whigs

and Hanoverians in the time of Anne, to stem and to suppress. William III., in the remarkable letter he wrote to Pope Innocent XII. in 1693, for the purpose of obtaining the recognition of his sovereignty by the Holy See, brought the indictment against the English nation that not one of King James's subjects had "the courage or the fidelity to strike a blow in his favour." There were thousands of Englishmen, including the rank and file, and the inferior officers of the army, who would have fought and died for their king; but his withdrawal had dislocated the machinery of government and left all things in confusion, a result for which his faithful servant Ailesbury did not fail to reproach him, when he found him sitting with his hat on his head and looking like his father at his trial, in the inn-parlour at Feversham. And if James II. hoped, as seems to have been the case, that his refusal of the combat and withdrawal from his kingdom would spare the blood of his people, he lived long enough to see that William's reign was not to be exempt from the universal law, by which usurped power appears constrained to keep its subjects in continued foreign warfare. William left the crimson heritage to Anne, who saw the bloodshed of her people until she sickened at the slaughter, and made the peace with France, which seemed for a moment likely to cost her her crown. And it is strange to find the Church of England, in whose name and defence these things were done, protesting against them by the voice of her first dignitaries and her most illustrious sons—Sancroft, Atterbury, Sacheverell, spending themselves in the effort to restore a Catholic king, as a lesser evil to their Church than those they dreaded and foresaw; fears and prophecies not without warrant and foundation, as the writings of Lecky and other historians of the eighteenth century would tend to show.

Scarcely less interesting than the uninterrupted intercourse, and the unbaffled hopes, of the English Jacobites and their legitimate sovereign, the constant overtures of the statesmen of the first four reigns of the new dynasty to the Court of St Germains, and to James at Avignon and Rome—from Godolphin and Sunderland to Sir Robert Walpole—is the revelation afforded by the Windsor MSS. with regard to the great Powers of Europe. The problem of bringing peace to Europe—for thus is it generally formulated—by a Stuart restoration seems to have fascinated, not only the kings of France, but the great monarchs and captains who made the history of their time from Charles XII. and Peter the Great, to Frederick of Prussia and Maurice of Saxe. And if the Duke of Berwick, whose renown placed him in the first rank of successful commanders, had adhered to his allegiance to James III., it is impossible to believe that the campaign of 1715 would not have had a different result in his strong hands, than under the direction of the Earl of Mar.

Misfortune followed the prince, whose only crime, in the words of the Duke of Lorraine to Queen Anne, was that "of being born the last male of his illustrious house," to a degree seldom met with; and with what seems an ingenious persistence, even into the circumstances of his private life, his relations with his own family, and with his nearest and worthiest friends. The undaunted bearing and the calm courage he ever showed, and which won him the respect and—in his later years—the veneration of his contemporaries, were not less noteworthy than that ill-hap of circumstance, to which the very elements contributed, and which, time after time, frustrated schemes which appeared assured of success.

That sovereignty in exile, persecuted and oppressed, had one of its noblest and most dignified representatives in

James III., the impartial readers of his life may perhaps be willing to acknowledge—whether they attribute to him the name of old pretender, or the title of legitimate king.

I must gratefully acknowledge the valuable assistance I have received from the Hon. John Fortescue, Librarian of Windsor Castle; from Sir Edward Maunde Thompson and Mr Henry Jenner of the British Museum, and from Mr F. H. Blackburne Daniell. Mr Alexander Pelham Trotter has kindly allowed me access to the Lumisden letter-books, and the interesting MS. diary of Sir David Nairne in his possession; he has also allowed me to reproduce the miniature of Prince Charles Edward as a youth. The portrait of Clementina Walkinshaw, from the engraving at Windsor, is published by permission of H.M. the King.

M. H.

1907.

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JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD

"THE OLD CHEVALIER"

"10 June 1688.—A *young Prince* born, which will cause disputes."—*Evelyn's Diary.*

CHAPTER I

JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD, sixth child and second son of King James II. and Queen Mary of Modena, holds the unique place in history of a prince who was the object, even while yet unborn, of one of the most formidable of conspiracies—a conspiracy fostered, guided, and controlled with consummate and implacable ability by the kinsman who was to profit by it. As the intrigue unfolds itself, it bears with it a feeling of regret that the chronology of time should have set this great drama after, and not before the day of Shakespeare. He would have drawn Prince James with as tender and true a touch as he drew Prince Arthur; the beautiful and pathetic figure of the Queen-Mother would have stood for all time beside Catherine of Aragon and Queen Constance, commanding the homage and sympathy of men. The intuitive genius which laid bare the vaulting ambition and subtle workings of the mind of Richard Crookback would have shown us those of William of Orange; and if we pass into the sombre realm of the Tragedies we may find two daughters of a king who were the prototypes of the Princess Mary and the Princess Anne. 1688.

To understand how so audacious a scheme as the negation of the birth of a child born in the purple, the son of a great and powerful king, could have any chance

1688. of success, it is necessary to glance at the state of persons and of affairs when, on the 1st January 1688, it was publicly announced that the Queen was with child. It cannot be denied that since her accession to the throne, Mary of Modena had lost something of the popularity with the Court which had been hers as Duchess of York. With the Court, but not with the people; for the latter had not yet been led away by the voice of faction from the affection and allegiance which her beauty and sweet carriage and her many virtues had won for her. Charles II. had been the first, good-humouredly, to admit that the Court of his brother and sister-in-law, though smaller, was in every respect more brilliant, more distinguished, and more reputable than his own. It was no easy task to reduce Whitehall to some semblance of decency and sobriety when the sudden death of the late King brought James and Mary Beatrice to power; and there is ample evidence that James II. set about the work of reformation with decision, but at the same time with a discretion which won the approval of those whose opinion was worth having. Courtiers, even if they were dukes, were warned against appearing a second time drunk in the presence of the Queen; rule was substituted for license, and a reckless expenditure cut down to reasonable limits.[1] Every instinct of the Queen rebelled against the profligacy of the Court, and it is not surprising that a certain natural haughtiness and youthful intolerance of the evils she loathed—she was twenty-five years old—may have been too plainly shown in her early dealings with the men and women who had surrounded the late King. Adversity had not yet tempered her—"Italienne et fort glorieuse," as Barillon described her in one of his despatches to Louis XIV.—to the humble majesty of speech and bearing which were the charm and wonder of her later years. The Tuscan envoy in Paris, writing

[1] How speedily the Court and town relapsed after the Revolution we see by *Evelyn's Diary* of February 19, 1690, when he notes that—"The impudence of both sexes was now become so great and universal, persons of all ranks keeping their courtesans publicly."

after the arrival of the royal exiles at St. Germains, mentions, on hearsay evidence, the Queen's "great control" over her husband—which was certainly not the case—leading him "to make no account of the English nobility, and she made still less of the ladies of that country, which did her great harm." 1688.

Towards the close of her life Mary Beatrice said of herself that she had never been able to get accustomed to the intrigues of Court; and the uncompromising position she adopted at once, to the unfeigned surprise of all concerned, against receiving Catherine Sedley, the King's mistress—"Give her my dowry, make her Queen of England, but never let me see her again"—gives us the key to the young Queen's attitude in her new station, and may explain the coolness of the ladies, to whom her virtues and her beauty were perhaps little less obnoxious than her religion. These, as we read the evidence of her contemporaries, were the chief counts of her offending; and yet Macaulay, while ignoring all the beautiful verse inspired by the Queen in Waller, Dryden, Lansdowne, once interrupts the ordered measure of his prose to quote a scurrilous lampoon in which the most stately princess in Europe is likened to "a raging furious devil," enforcing his point with references to "Evelyn, Feb. 4, 168$\frac{4}{5}$, and July 13, 1686," but without giving Evelyn's words. In the first entry, far from supporting the lampoonist, we find the great diarist giving his opinion that the young Queen has so deported herself since her arrival in England as to make herself "universally beloved"; in the second he notices "her outward affability much changed to stateliness since she has been exalted." The only other remark in the slightest degree critical of the Queen to be found in the *Diary* refers to the Queen's silence during dinner, "tho' at other times she used to be extremely pleasant, full of discourse and good-humour."

As the dates of the last two entries show that they were made when the affair of the newly created Countess of Dorchester was at its height, the Queen's silence and stateliness are accounted for; they also serve to exemplify 1686-8.

1686-8. Macaulay's methods with respect to the Stuart King and Queen.[1]

The blunders of James II., his reliance on weak or treacherous ministers, his successive prorogations and dissolution of Parliament, his stubborn insistence in discarding the few men, such as Clarendon and Rochester, whose clear-sightedness and fidelity to the Crown and constitution would not let them enter into his scheme for establishing liberty of conscience by an act of his dispensing power, had wrought up to a dangerous state of alarm the more important section of his subjects—the nobility, the dignitaries of the Church of England, the Parliamentarians, and even the leaders of the Nonconformists, who would accept no boon of tolerance which the hated Papists were to share. There is no word in the Act of Indulgence, nor in the King's conduct at the time to show that he was not sincere, and everything that Act contained has since been conceded to Catholics and Dissenters; a fact which clears James II.'s memory of the weight of obloquy heaped upon him on the plea of intolerance. This much-maligned monarch threw open the prison doors throughout the land to all men detained on account of their faith, and for the first time for 150 years the prisons contained neither Catholic nor Nonconformist suffering for his conscience' sake. Four hundred Quakers were liberated from jail during July 1686; a fact which that body—unlike the generality of the recipients of James's bounty—never forgot, and remained true to his cause and that of his son to the end.

Lockhart Papers.

1688. In nothing has James II. been more unfortunate than in his historians, with the single exception of Lingard, whose masterly study of his reign and appreciation of his character have been confirmed and emphasised, in some instances even mitigated, by the documents brought to light in later years. In the interesting and valuable Memoirs of Thomas Lord Ailesbury, Lord Chamberlain to James II., he says of Burnet: "As to the history of his own times I could give him the lie as many times as

Ailesbury "Memoirs," Roxburghe Club, 1890.

[1] See Appendix A.

there are pages in his book." From Burnet and Macaulay to the last text-book printed yesterday for our schools, the same accusations are repeated with unvarying persistence, and, with regard to Macaulay, the poet's words might be addressed to James II.— 1688.

> "God's great gift of speech abused
> Makes thy memory confused."

To vilify the King and misrepresent his every act has been the simple and successful way to glorify the Revolution of 1688.[1]

The people of England had accepted James, despite his religion, as their sovereign, with a loyal simplicity and trust in the man "who had never been worse than his word," which knit him and them together in a bond of union and affection which, had they been left to themselves, would have remained unbroken by greater faults of government than any that monarch ever committed. Peace and prosperity reigned throughout the land, citizens and countrymen, burgesses and yeomen enjoyed the untaxed produce of their labour. "Put it to the Nation, and all the Nation must declare," writes Weldon in his MS. Collection for a history of James II., "that every man enjoys his Conscience, his Liberty, and his Property, even to the Envy of their less happy neighbours, and that there has been no proceedings against a single Man, but for his single Misdemeanour. . . ." The press might labour with polemical arguments, and the pulpits resound with Protestant zeal, the practical experience of every day showed men they had nothing to fear; and the Stuarts are hardly more worthy of pity than the people who were to be wrested from a state of profound peace, which it was James's policy and purpose to preserve, to one of perpetual war, with its heavy cost in life and treasure. During the twelve and a half years' reign of William III., Parliament was reckoned to have given him seventy millions sterling,

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. F. 10,118.

[1] As for Macaulay's chief charge of cruelty against James II., the assisting, when Duke of York, at the torture of the Covenanters at Edinburgh, it has long been admitted that "the Duke" of whom the report was spread was not the Duke of York, but his predecessor in Scotland, the Duke of Lauderdale.

1686-8. more, it was computed, than the sovereigns of England had received in 200 years, and at his death the Crown was indebted 16½ millions (the National Debt began in 1693). "The Duke of Marlborough and I differed only in half a million on a discourse I had with him at Liège in 1703," writes Ailesbury. . . . "At Queen Anne's death the debt was 33 millions, and in 1728 it was computed at 53 millions. . . . And this is what we gained by the glorious revolution. . . ."

How far the Prince of Orange was concerned in the Rye House Plot may perhaps never be known; that the scheme had his knowledge and approval seems clear from Lord Montagu's letter to him after the Revolution asking for a dukedom, which, he says, he has deserved as well as the Russells (William had raised the Earl of Bedford to that rank), although he had not lost his head, like Lord Russell.[1] At the time the Exclusion Bill against the Duke of York was before Parliament, we know, through the Duchess of Portsmouth's statement to Barillon reported by him to Louis XIV., that the Prince had urged her to exert her influence, which he rightly believed to be almost unbounded, with Charles II. in favour of that measure. Monmouth and Argyle, Dr. Burnet and Admiral Herbert, were received with open arms at his Court, the two last returning James II.'s bounty (he had twice saved Burnet from the displeasure of Charles II., and Herbert owed everything to him) with base ingratitude;[2] but beyond caresses and fair words he gave Monmouth no material help in an enterprise which was of service to himself as a test of the state of feeling in England, but might have proved an embarrassment if it had been successful. "He
d'Avaux. amused Skelton," when that minister applied to the States to put an embargo on Argyle's vessels, "for a whole day

[1] Barillon writes to Louis XIV., August 25, 1681, that the Prince of Orange was often locked up with Lord Russell and Sir William Jones.

[2] "Admiral Herbert, since Earl of Torrington, sailed the Dutch fleet [at the invasion] and one raised from a most private gentleman by the King when Duke of York, and afterwards was Master of the Robes to the King . . . he that had no religion covered all this over with a cloak of zeal for religion."—*Ailesbury Memoirs.* Roxburghe Club, vol. i. p. 185.

on an affair which required the utmost despatch," and when the order was at last obtained, "it was defeated by the Prince, in whose Department, as Admiral, the execution of it lay." His envoys, Dyckvelt and Zuyleistein, cumulated the office of accredited ministers to King James with that of suborners and paymasters to the malcontent party. In the name of his wife, William sent £200 to the expelled Fellows of Magdalen College on the occasion of the unfortunate quarrel between the King and the University of Oxford; and his astute policy carried him so far, when some members of the States of Holland, offended at his arbitrary proceedings, betrayed their jealousy of him as to order a rumour to be spread that, in his weak state of body, he could not possibly live two years. 1686-8. d'Avaux.

The fact must not be forgotten that since the death of the little Duke of Cambridge in 1677, the Prince of Orange must have looked upon himself as in all probability the future occupant of the English throne. The death of all the children of the Duke and Duchess of York, and the five childless years which had elapsed since the death, at three weeks old, of the Princess Charlotte in 1682 (of whom the Orange party had threatened "to make a Perkin Warbeck" had she proved a son), had so served to strengthen and confirm that view, that its disturbance, by the possibility of the birth of a Prince of Wales, quickened ambition into execution, which would otherwise have waited upon opportunity. The project of invasion grew quickly into shape, and history was to become acquainted with the only example of a successful expedition into a foreign country trusting in the connivance of a section of its inhabitants, a fact which places William of Orange in the first rank of great captains and Machiavellian politicians. Under his guidance, Dr. Burnet was speedily engaged in indoctrinating the Princess Mary into the right attitude of mind towards a man who had no intention of playing the part of a King Consort, and from Burnet's pen came the first public doubt, printed at the Hague, of the Queen's pregnancy; while the essential service of tacit connivance on the part of the Pope and the Emperor was obtained by *Observator*, Aug. 23, 1682.

1688. representations as clever as they were unscrupulous and mendacious.

Archives Nationales, K. 1301, No. 21.

A MS. "Portrait historique du Prince d'Orange," addressed a few years later by a French agent in Holland to the Court of France, gives us a curiously minute description of the person of William III., and tells us that he shared with some of the other princes of his race a malformation of the shoulders which the writer bluntly characterises as a hump.

> "His is a sad and sombre countenance, even showing something of fatality; a high forehead . . . his eyes are fire; his nose aquiline, his cheeks hollow, the mouth large with irregular and extraordinarily long teeth, and a pointed chin . . . the length of the face is out of proportion with his stature. The result of these features is the most complete physiognomy of an eagle that it is possible to see. The hands correspond with this aspect, being long, dry, and bony, always *mal-propres*, crooked, and with nails *d'une longueur à faire peur*, more like talons than hands. His figure and the rest of his person have still less regularity, and his carriage is bad . . . on foot or on horseback; weak and unsteady on his legs, he walks ill and with his head low. A hump on the right shoulder . . . and his hollow and asthmatical stomach make him look more hunch-backed than he really is. . . . He can manage a horse well. . . . He affects manners, from a motive of pride, which do not improve the air of his person: he wears broad-brimmed hats low upon his brows, from under which he darts, head lowered, black and menacing looks which inspire a terrible respect. His black hair . . . he used to wear hanging about his face, until he took to a periwig . . . which he did with reluctance . . ., the expense appearing useless so long as one had hair enough to cover one's head. . . . Joy is a thing which he has several times said himself he has never really tasted in his life. To see him laugh, which he does rarely, it is easy to perceive that the movement is forced . . . it happens chiefly when he has the least reason for it. . . . His laugh is unpleasant, and those who know him judge, when they hear it, that he has something *sur le tapis* which is not going well, or which is not to his taste. . . ."

It is interesting to remember that when this portrait was penned in 1698, William III. had reached the summit of power and glory, using the throne of England as a stepping-stone to making himself the arbitrator of Europe, the humiliator of France, and when the Emperor and the King of Spain were, in the words of Pope Innocent XII. to Lord Perth, "slaves and worse than subjects to him."

In the accomplishment of his purpose William of

Orange was well served—at home by Pensionary Fagel, Dyckvelt, Bentinck, and Burnet, domiciled in the royal palace at the Hague, and in England by Sunderland, Churchill, Danby, Herbert, and Compton, Bishop of London. These were the life and soul of the conspiracy which was quickly spreading, but with so well-kept a secrecy that as late as October 5, 1688, Hoffmann, the Austrian Ambassador, writes to the Emperor Leopold that there is no doubt "the Prince of Orange is assured of the aid of some strong conspiracy here, and yet no signs of one have been discovered." 1687-8.

James II. had heralded the publication of the Act of Indulgence by a declaration in Council, March 18, 1687, in which he said that uniformity of religion had been forced in vain for four successive reigns upon the nation by the joint efforts of the Crown and Parliament. The restraint upon dissenters, without producing a single advantage, had brought many calamities upon the Prince and people. He ascribed to the intolerance of the Established Church the misfortunes of his father's reign. He observed that, as usual in persecutions, the penal laws had increased rather than diminished the number of dissenters. . . . He had always entertained an opinion that an entire freedom in matters of religion was most suitable to the mild spirit and principles of Christianity, and concluded . . . that he had directed his Attorney and Solicitor-General to permit no process to issue in his name against any dissenters whatever. Gazette Minutes of P.C.

The extravagant joy with which this declaration was at first received went far towards confirming the King in that extraordinary blindness which was the wonder of all beholders. Addresses poured in upon him in which he was compared to Moses, Cyrus, and other deliverers of the people of God in the ancient world. The Grand Jury of the Justices of Middlesex wished for the "voice of angels" to thank him for his consideration and clemency, and assured him they were resolved to defend "the Divine maxim that the King derives all his power from God, that all law proceeds from the King." *Ibid.*

While James was delighting himself with these unmean-

1687-8. ing adulations, Dyckvelt was actually in England under the pretext of soothing the King's resentment at the encroachments of the Dutch on the English East India Company, but in reality sent by William to enter into close correspondence with the Protestant leaders. He remained in England from February to the end of May, and according to d'Avaux, formed the outlines of that general revolt which soon after precipitated James from his throne.

Macpherson's "History." Dyckvelt was followed by Zuyleistein, sent to London in August by the Prince—who feared that a new House of Commons might approve the King's measures, and secure him on the throne—his ostensible errand being that of condoling with the Queen upon the death of her mother, the Duchess of Modena. According to d'Avaux, had James succeeded in his project of an obedient Parliament which would have agreed to the repeal of the Test and Penal Laws, William would, even then, August 1687, have thrown off the mask, and in concert with the malcontent party declared against both King and Parliament.[1] James having failed, the Prince returned "to those secret practices with which he had managed for seven years, the cabals of the English malcontents." His preparations were made; he had contrived by an artifice to possess himself of 9000 men and twenty-five ships of war with which he could act upon an emergency without the previous consent of the States. "And as if blinded by destiny the King continued his unpopular measures, and disregarded the repeated accounts of the preparations brought to his ears." An infatuated "*il n'oserait*" was his reply to the reiterated assurances of Barillon that the Prince of Orange meant to attack him.

d'Avaux. Dalrymple's Appendix.

d'Avaux, Vol. IV.

"Bewitched," to use his own word, by the shallow would-be-Wolsey of a Petre, urged on by the treacherous Sunderland, to all the methods which were visibly leading to ruin, James II. filled up the measure of his blunders by

[1] Lord Mordaunt had advised the Prince of Orange to make an attempt upon England, but he writes to him September 4, 1687: "As to that particular . . . (that you were pleased frankly to engage in) my expectations are so far diminished that I think myself obliged to own I am become very doubtful of the success of it, and for that reason must rather dissuade from than persuade. . . ."—In William III.'s box.

sending the seven Bishops to the Tower, $\frac{7}{17}$ June, three days before the birth of his son. Father Petre might, as he certainly did, protest against a measure so glaring in its impolicy; he and the other Catholic members of the Council might absent themselves so that the order of arrest should be signed by twenty-four Protestants; these details, even the fact that the Bishops' technical offence was undoubted, never came to the knowledge of the people, or were purposely ignored, while the broad monstrous fact of the imprisonment of the Archbishop of Canterbury and six of his brethren by a Catholic king was trumpeted abroad, and received with legitimate anger and alarm by the citizens of London. This event sets the seal upon James II.'s incapacity for the difficult station in which he found himself. Honest in his dealings—"there never was a King and Queen that had more the fear of God before their eyes,"—he was singularly lacking in that instinct of discernment and *grâce d'état*, that right choice of his servants, which go to make up the art of kingcraft, and the possession of which has made a better ruler of many a worse man.[1] A touch almost of comedy is given to that grave political error by the fact that of the seven Bishops, five became non-jurors after the Revolution they had helped to promote, and Archbishop Sancroft cheerfully suffered deprivation and poverty rather than take the oath to the usurper.

1687-8.

Ailesbury "Memoirs," Vol. I. p. 172.

Burnet's first printed doubt of the Queen's pregnancy had set free a torrent of scurrilous prose and verse, of which no more can here be said than that all that calumny could invent was set forth with the broad coarseness of seventeenth-century speech. The lampoons were issued broadcast, and with such persistency that they could not fail in exerting a certain influence upon the vulgar. "The scandalous things vile people invented and that fools blindly swallowed is not worth the enlarging on. . . . So I leave that and them to their deserved wretched destiny."

Ailesbury "Memoirs," Vol. I. p. 172.

[1] "Though he was diffident of men, he was no less unsuccessful, when he reigned, in detecting his enemies than he had been, the most of his life, in choosing his friends."—Macpherson's *Extracts from Continuation of James II.'s Memoirs* (Scots College).

1688. The birth of the Prince of Wales, $\frac{10}{21}$ June 1688, into what was to prove to him a veritable vale of tears, was received with extravagant joy by the royalists, and with momentary consternation by the Orange party. All the circumstances attending it are fully described in the life of the Queen;[1] the greatest publicity (short of its taking place at Charing Cross, as one of the pamphleteers suggested) surrounded it, and portraits of the new-born heir, by Kneller and the other Court painters, wearing the ermine and purple and all the emblems of his rank, were widely published, while Dryden's Ode on the occasion passed the limits of reasonable eulogy:—

BRITANNIA REDEVIVA

. . . . . .

"Just on the day, when the high-mounted sun
Did farthest in his northern progress run,
He bended forward, and e'en stretched the sphere
Beyond the limits of the lengthen'd year,
To view a brighter sun in Britain born;
This was the business of his longest morn;
The glorious object seen, 'twas time to turn."

. . . . .

Unusual splendour and pomp, perhaps in consequence of the libels in circulation, attended the occasion—the point lace on the cradle was valued then at £1000[2]—and in their anxiety to secure his life, the Prince's medical attendants almost succeeded in putting an immediate end to it by the use of aliments—water-gruel, Dr. Goddard's drops, Canary wine, etc., which are described with dismay in the despatches of the foreign ambassadors, and could hardly have been different had the physicians been in the pay of the Prince of Orange. Saved almost at the last gasp by his father's insistence upon trying a wet-nurse, the child recovered, but it is not surprising that he carried an impaired constitution to his grave, or that "disorders of the

[1] *Life of Queen Mary of Modena*, pp. 186-190.

[2] The lace was given in 1692 by the Queen to the English convent at Bruges, where it still remains. Lady Lucy Herbert, daughter of the Duke of Powis, was Prioress of the convent.

stomach" find a constant place in the reports of his health throughout his life. 1688.

The Prince of Wales's godparents were the Pope, represented by his Nuncio d'Adda, and Queen Catherine of Braganza, and he received the names of James Francis Edward. Few things prove the infelicity of James II.'s dealings with men more than his relations with the Pope and the Catholics. While imperilling his throne and the destinies of his race for the support of his religion, his own conduct—washed clean later with tears of penance—had given open scandal almost to the point of driving his beautiful young wife into a convent. His love of controversy led him, under the joint guidance of the two men whom Ailesbury bluntly describes as "a fool and a knave," to those "closetings" and religious argumentations, than which nothing was less likely to make a single convert or better calculated to spread alarm and distrust. The people admired his courage when he went openly to Mass the morning of his accession, and they would have continued to admire him had he remained inflexible in essentials, while refraining from annoying his courtiers by unnecessary outward displays of a religion which they repudiated.

To assist him to observe this wise reserve the Pope had sent his Nuncio, Ferdinando d'Adda, in a lay and private character to London, and it is interesting to remember that one of d'Adda's mandates was to urge James II. to intercede with Louis XIV. in favour of the persecuted Huguenots—which the King was ready to do—and to temper his own zeal with prudence and moderation. James in return irritated Innocent XI., one of the ablest politicians in Europe, almost beyond endurance by his persistent demands, made with extraordinary haughtiness by his ambassador, Lord Castlemaine, for a red hat for Father Petre, than which the Pope well knew a more fatally unpopular thing could hardly have been imagined; this he could and did prevent, but he was powerless to check the King's mistakes at home.

Lord Ailesbury writes:—

1688. Ailesbury "Memoirs," Vol. I. p. 153.

"In order to ruin the King more and more they obliged him to make Romish judges. . . . Many [Catholic] Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace were put into commission, and in my hearing, the worthy gentleman, Sir William Goring of Sussex, reproached his friends of the same religion for their folly and vanity, adding, 'You will ruin us all by it.' . . . The Pope's Nuncio Dada (*sic*) . . . my very good friend discoursed with me as often as he saw me on the subject, and Don Pedro de Ronquillo, the Spanish Ambassador, greatly lamented these pernicious counsels given to the King by a cunning dissembler and by a hot-headed ignorant Churchman. . . . To my certain knowledge the Nuncio did all he could possible to stave off his public audience, and he represented the ill-consequence, inasmuch that the Minister (Sunderland) once, if not oftener, gave him very hard words. In the character he was in before, and in lay habit and sword, he might have been there twenty years, and not one word would have been said. . . .

Ibid. p. 163.

"Our Minister and his adherents put a most damnable project in execution; . . . they framed three questions to be proposed by the King as to his Court and Army, etc., and the Lords-Lieutenants in their several counties, and those that refused were dismissed. . . . I expected every day to be examined, but we of the Bedchamber, my Lord Dartmouth, Master of the Horse and Ordnance, and some few others were, as we found in the sequel, exempted. The three questions as to Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace and officers not peers:—

"1st. If you are chosen a Member of Parliament, will you give your vote for to repeal the penal laws and test?

"2nd. If you are not chosen, will you give your vote for them that will consent to repeal those Acts?

"3rd. Will you live neighbourly and friendly with those of a contrary opinion to you in religion? . . .

Ibid. p. 165.

"The negative was given almost unanimously, save as to the third question, and those very few that disagreed to this last were snarling persons of very little character; and I remember that one, Mr. Portarlington, . . . was so impertinent that I turned him out of my chamber."

Lord Ailesbury's case—he was Lord-Lieutenant of Bedford and Huntingdonshire—throws so clear a light on the difficulties in which honest and loyal subjects of the Crown found themselves at this critical time that his own narrative is worth recording. After quoting the answer of a certain Mr. Dochran: "My resolution shall be to come into the House absolutely with a most loyal temper, and nowise prepossessed, and that my intentions are to act in every sense according to honour and conscience, hoping that the King can never be able to ask anything but what

I can cheerfully concur with," he says that two Catholic lords—Powis and Castlemaine—were badly treated by Sunderland for approving that answer—that "it was impertinent, and almost said those were the same that approved of it. . . . By this you may see the old Roman Catholics were the most moderate, and, indeed, they were on all occasions." After reporting to the King that all his Deputy-Lieutenants had answered the first two ill-starred questions in the negative: "I received a letter from the King, countersigned by that Minister, to direct me to name new Deputy-Lieutenants, all my old ones being superseded, as in all other counties." Ailesbury boldly gave in a list of those who had been laid aside, and Sunderland

1687-8. Ailesbury "Memoirs," Vol. I. p. 167.

> "in a great passion, asked my meaning, and if I laughed at the King. . . . I told him . . . I gave in that list because I knew no others that I could answer for; for 'tis the Lord-Lieutenant that signs the commissions. . . . Going into the country I received expresses three or four times to make such and such Deputy-Lieutenant, signed by the King. . . . And, indeed, not one of them was worthy of the honour done to him. . . . I expected every hour to be turned out, and I was full weary. I know the Minister urged it, but the King knew me too well for to lay me aside."

The birth of a son offered the King a golden bridge for retreating from the fatal position the imprisonment of the Bishops had placed him in; he was urged to signalise that auspicious event by their release, and inclined thereto himself, offering to accept their simple word for their appearance in case of being called. This they refused; his pride rose, and the trial and acquittal of the Bishops ensued, after eliciting from the Prince of Orange the significant words in a letter to Bentinck, June 24, 1688: ". . . This affair of the Bishops may promptly bring matters to extremities, so I await fresh news with impatience." His impatience must have been agreeably soothed by the reception of the famous letter signed Devonshire, Danby, Shrewsbury, Lumley, Compton, Bishop of London, Admiral Russell, and Henry Sidney, promising to join him if he invaded their King's dominions. From that day events marched quickly. News of the

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 34,514, p. 27.

1688. birth having come earlier than was expected, in the first surprise the Prince of Orange despatched Zuyleistein to congratulate the King; upon the arrival of Admiral Herbert, who had quitted James's service—William had invited him as early as the month of May to come to him—he repented of his complaisance, and even tried to convince the States-General that the Prince of Wales was a supposed child, refusing to attend the fêtes given by the English Ambassador at the Hague, corrupting with money, through Zuyleistein, those in England whom principle had not attached to his service, using all his great powers of management and intrigue, while James II. sat in security on the edge of the precipice. The States-General refusing to believe the tale of a supposititious prince, he recalled the Dutch ambassador, Van Citters, from London to convince them; he ordered a book to be written to prove the spuriousness of the birth, promising his protection to all who should declare against it, and carried the political farce to the point of ordering into his presence the preaching ministers of the Hague, to bid them redouble their prayers to Heaven, that religion was never in such danger before. If the ministers addressed themselves to God, writes d'Avaux, they also used their influence with men. They inflamed the vulgar to a degree of madness by their discourses; and the deputies of Amsterdam, who had long opposed the aggrandisement of the Prince of Orange, durst not obstruct his present designs for fear of being torn to pieces by the mob.

King William's chest, Dalrymple's Appendix.

d'Avaux, Vol. IV., Macpherson.

The accepted version of the Revolution of 1688 represents a generous and free nation, oppressed by a cruel and tyrannical King, and goaded at last, in defence of life, liberty, and religion, to call upon a foreign prince as a deliverer from evils which had become intolerable. The more closely this picture is studied, the more its glowing colours fade, giving place to more sordid hues. Far from being a spontaneous invitation, the call of the disaffected nobles was itself a thing invited, in some cases purchased, by the Prince of Orange. Their letters are still extant; William kept them carefully, intending, had things

Pub. Rec. Off., King William's Chest.

gone ill with his invasion, to hand them to the King,[1] and they were found in a box at Hampton Court after his death. They number twenty-five, and, with the exception of two or three, they are all answers, in one or two cases rather embarrassed answers, to William's overtures. The Earl of Nottingham is "much surprised" to receive the honour of a letter through M. Zuyleistein; the old Earl of Bedford[2] says, "great and surprising honours, the more joy they give, the more they disable us to express it." One letter, unsigned, in a hand feigned like a woman's, is probably from Sunderland. Dated June 18, it refers to the forthcoming invitation: "I believe you expected it before now, but it could not be ready. . . . Halifax hath been backward in all this matter. Devonshire was with me this afternoon, and I find will be entirely your friend. . . ." 1688.

The "invitation" itself expresses the satisfaction of the signatories to find, by Mr. Russell [who had been to the Hague] and by M. Zuyleistein, that His Highness was so ready and willing

> "to give us such assistance as they have related to us. . . . Yet we will by no means put Your Highness into any expectations which may misguide your own councils in this matter; so that the best advice we can give is to inform Y. H. truly both of the state of things . . . and of the difficulties which appear to us. . . . If such a strength could be landed as were able to defend itself and them [the Malcontent party] till they could be got together into some order, we make no question but that strength would quickly be increased to a number double to the army here. . . ."

Henry Sidney writes privately to the Prince the same day expressing fear of the design:—

> "You know your own business best, what power you have over the fleet and the army. . . . If you go on with the undertaking, I think I shall not do amiss to put you in mind of one man that I

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[1] "The Prince [after landing at Torbay] began to suspect he had been betrayed, and had some thoughts of returning; in which case he was resolved to publish the names of all those that had invited him over, which he said would be a just return for their treachery, folly, and cowardice. . . ."—Lord Dartmouth's Notes to Burnet's *History*, p. 790.

[2] Father of Lord Russell, executed for the Rye House Plot.

1688. believe will be very useful to you; it is Marechal Schomberg . . . if you could borrow him for a while it would be of great advantage to this affair. . . . You will wonder, I believe, not to see [23 Nottingham] among the other figures; he was gone very far, but now his heart fails him, and he will go no further; he saith 'tis scruples of conscience, but we all conclude 'tis another passion. . . ."

The Prince of Orange had not neglected the English Fleet and Army;[1] through Churchill and Herbert his addresses had been poured upon both services. A letter "To all Commanders of Ships and all Seamen that are employed in the English Fleet" is endorsed: "referring them to me" [Herbert], and William's letters to that Admiral are couched in effusive terms.

Brit. Mus. Egerton MSS. 2621. 1. 14.

Although d'Avaux, the French Ambassador at the Hague, and others easily penetrated William's true designs, an admirable cloak to them was furnished by the coincidence of the death of the Elector of Cologne at this juncture. Louis XIV. supported Cardinal Fürstenberg as his successor, while the Emperor, the Dutch, and the Court of Rome favoured Prince Clement of Bavaria. France threatened to interfere *armata manu*, and under the pretence of danger from that side the Prince of Orange formed a camp of 20,000 men between Grave and Nimeguen in August, equipped for service twenty ships of the line without referring to the States, and ordered artificers to work day and night, only five of the States being privy to his real design. Projects so daring could not but be accompanied by certain misgivings, and William's letters to Bentinck give us a curious insight into his state of mind. Writing from Loo, August 29, 1688, and enclosing a letter from Lord Danby, he says:—

Brit. Mus. Mackintosh Collection, Add. MSS. 34,514, f. 32.

"It puts me into no little pain, seeing how uncertain he is whether the affair should be undertaken before the winter or put off until the spring; add to this that the thing begins to be talked of everywhere, and the small advance we have made in our preparations. I own it puts me into frightful pain and uncertainties — *en des peines et incertitudes épouvantables.*"

After bidding Bentinck confer with Pensionary Fagel

[1] In his manifesto to the army the Prince says he will make a great distinction between those who join his arms at once and others.

and Dyckvelt, and explain to them the draft of a declaration or manifesto Henry Sidney had brought him, he concludes :— 1688.

"You will see that I throw myself entirely upon the mercy of a Parliament. Although I fear I can do no otherwise, it appears somewhat hazardous to remit one's fate to them. . . ."

Again, September 4 :—

". . . The French preparations to support Cardinal Fürstenberg are merely a pretext, and really intended to *frustrate our scheme*. . . . I own I am in terrible pain and uneasiness, fearing that our design may miscarry . . ." Brit. Mus. Mackintosh Collection, Add. MSS. 34,514, f. 35.

September 14 :—

". . . I am much afraid of the timidity of some of those at Amsterdam and the wickedness—*la méchanceté*—of others, for if this business is not carried out with vigour and resolution, no good result need be expected. And the way the Burghermeister spoke to M. de Dyckvelt puts me into a terrible fright—*me donne une terrible frayeur*. If the fleet is not soon ready, all is ruined; it is absolutely necessary to give more [money] to the seamen, if that will secure them. . . . I enclose a letter from Sir Patrick Hume; you must make him come to the Hague." *Ibid.* f. 37.

While breathing words of peace to the Pope and the Emperor, the Prince of Orange, ostensibly leading a country life at Loo and then at Dieren, his hunting-seat, was writing almost daily his urgent orders to Bentinck at the Hague for the equipment of the artillery, the fabrication of one thousand bombs, etc.,—his letters are those of the active and somewhat nervous chief of a filibustering expedition. The 16th September he writes anxiously about the Fleet, and in the orders he sends for Admiral Herbert we are reminded of the "*surtout, pas de zèle*" of a much later politician :—

". . . If an accident happens to the Fleet, all is lost; make Mr. Herbert clearly understand this, and that he must avoid an engagement as long as he can, for the issue is always uncertain though we are the stronger; this is not a time for showing his valour, or for fighting if it can be helped. I have already told him so, but it is necessary you should make him thoroughly understand it. I shall embark the two regiments of infantry the day after to-morrow. . . ." *Ibid.* f. 38.

1688. Brit. Mus. Egerton MSS. 2621. I. 14.

Admiral Herbert's betrayal of his master did not pass unchallenged; Lord Dartmouth sent Mr. William Constable after him to the Hague with a hostile message. Upon receipt of this challenge, which the Admiral accepted, he made some difficulty about taking the Prince's command, pretending to have scruples about the oaths required to be taken. Dyckvelt and several more were sent to him by the Prince to persuade him and satisfy his doubts, among others Dr. Burnet. Herbert showed Lord Dartmouth's letter to the Prince, who "bid the Admiral put the Letter in his pocket, and told him he should meet Mylord Dartmouth at sea."

It was not until the middle of September that the King was shaken in his optimism, or roused himself from the *léthargie surprenante* which amazed the French Court. Barillon's despatches show us, as in a mirror, James's unhappy thraldom to Sunderland, his hesitations from day to day, accepting the Ambassador's warnings, and assuring him he would take instant measures against the threatened invasion; and the next day—time after time—telling him that after consulting my Lord Sunderland he had changed his mind, and felt secure the Prince of Orange would not venture to come to England, or that if he came, not a man with an estate to lose would join him. On September 23 Barillon writes that James is still neglecting to send for troops from Ireland; at last, October 18, he announces that they are being sent for from Scotland and Ireland,

> "When it is plain that their march can only tend to leave those countries open, but not to join the King in time to resist the first impressions of the Prince of Orange."

We must go again to Lord Ailesbury for a vivid picture of the state of mind of the King's friends at this juncture. The dismissal of his Deputy-Lieutenants made him "very insignificant" in the counties where he was Lord-Lieutenant, and at last, growing melancholy, he resolved to resign. He took leave of his mother, who said to him:—

Ailesbury "Memoirs," Vol. I. p. 177.

> "'I suspect you have some design in your head, for I have perceived you have long been melancholy. For God's sake consider well, and succeed

to your father's firmness to the Crown as well as to his estate.' I told her that to continue longer would be my death. She said no more, save giving me her blessing with her prayers to God to direct me for the best." 1688.

Ailesbury set out for Windsor, taking his Commissions and Patents with him; there he consults Lord Dartmouth, who dissuades him:—

"If you give up, I fear so many more will do the same, that the King will be very destitute of good Englishmen as well as good subjects; for the love of God lay aside your rash design."

The King's first words were to tell him, under oath of secrecy, that the great armaments in Holland were against him, and that he was well assured Ailesbury would stand by him. Ailesbury "Memoirs," Vol. I. p. 179.

"I fell on my knees assuring him of the same, and to the last drop of my blood. . . . I need not say that I carried home my Commissions . . . I esteem this of the King's preventing me one of the happy moments of my life, for had I given up, the King . . . might have suspected that I was associated with those that deserted him, and little to their honour. . . ."

The following month—October—expresses from Court reached Ailesbury directing him to restore all his old Deputy-Lieutenants, but the mischief was done, and beyond repair.

On October 22, despite the reluctance of the Queen, who would only consent to it when she discovered the cold and doubtful attitude of the Princess Anne, the Extraordinary Council was held to receive the solemn deposition of the forty-two witnesses of the birth of the Prince of Wales, a thing considered by many as below the King's dignity, and certainly of no avail with those who had invented the monstrous fiction of a supposititious birth, or with those who believed, or pretended to believe it.

"The discontents were so visible . . . and the conspirators . . . were so hardy and indiscreet, thinking all sure" [writes Lord Ailesbury], "that the eyes at Court began to be open, and the King ought to have made a bold stroke. The Earl of Feversham and myself separately were on our knees humbly begging him to clap up seven or eight of them, and with the most humble submission, I ventured to name the Prince of Denmark, the Dukes of Ormond and Grafton, Lord Churchill, Mr. Kirke, Mr. Trelawney, etc., but as it was found, and fatally, the King could not resolve. If he had, in all probability his army would have stood by him; and the Duke of Grafton was empoisoning the Fleet under Mylord Dartmouth." *Ibid.* p. 185.

1688. Had James II. followed the advice of his two faithful servants and "clapped up" the men they named, in all likelihood the invasion of England would not have taken place, a fact he recognised when from his deathbed he sent his last message to Ailesbury, living in exile in Brussels, through his confessor, Father Saunders:—"Mention to that Lord in your letter that if I had taken his advice at the latter part of my being in England, I had never rendered my soul to God my Creator in a foreign country." "The most precious legacy he could have left me," adds Ailesbury, "both as to be thought on by him at his last hour, and that he remembered the most wholesome advices I gave him in England on my knees, and weeping."

Ailesbury "Memoirs," Vol. II. p. 486.

Another account, that of Bevil Higgons, says:—

"A Short View of English History," published 1723, pp. 418-23.

"The king, judging others by himself, would not give credit at first to the repeated Advices of his Danger. . . . He had particular Lists given him of the Nobility and others, who were engaged in the Design against him; all whose Persons he had it in his power to have secured . . . but he was persuaded by those who betrayed him, not to do so unpopular an Act, which would inflame the Nation more; such advice, upon such an Occasion, I believe was never given: and if given, never taken before. Such was the Fatality attended this Prince, who in his Misfortunes seems very much to resemble the King his Father; they both stretched their Prerogatives when there was no Occasion, and wanted the Resolution to exert their legal Authority in their own Defence, when their all was at Stake."

By this time "William Henry, by the grace of God Prince of Orange, etc.," had published, October 10, 1688, his famous Declaration of the reasons inducing him to appear in arms in the Kingdom of England for "preserving of the Protestant Religion, and for the restoring of the Laws and Liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland." "He writes in the style of a king," complains Weldon, "'*Trusty* and *wellbeloved*,' and joyns the Supporters of England to his arms, in a manner not allowable in Heraldry, even though the Princess Royal were Queen."

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. f. 10,118.

The Declaration, in which the hand of Burnet can be traced in every line, for none but an Englishman of his wit and learning could so accurately gauge the temper of the public, and play as on an instrument, upon its

prejudices and its fears, contains in each paragraph a plausibly couched misrepresentation, but we need only note the reference to the Prince of Wales: ". . . Not only we ourselves, but all the good Subjects of those Kingdoms, do vehemently suspect, that the Pretended Prince of Wales was not born of the Queen. . . ." After asserting that he has been most earnestly solicited by a great many Lords, both spiritual and temporal: "We now see fit to Declare that this our Expedition, is intended for no other designe but to have a free and lawfull Parliament assembled. . . . To this Parliament wee will also referre the Enquiry into the Birth of the Pretended Prince of Wales, and of all things relating to it and the Right of Succession. . . ." 1688.

The question was never raised. "The trick had served its turn," writes Lord Clarendon in his Diary, and William, who seems never to have hesitated to employ any means to gain his ends, when once those ends were accomplished, referred to them no more. "About the mouth he is most like to my uncle King Charles, and his eye most like his mother," was his remark a year or two later to Lord Essex, a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, in handing back a portrait of the little Prince of Wales which, hearing that Essex had received it, he had asked to see. In fact, to the end of his life, William III. admitted, or unblushingly denied, the legitimacy of his young cousin and brother-in-law according to the momentary exigencies of his own service. Ailesbury "Memoirs," Vol. I. p. 283.

William of Orange landed at Torbay, $\frac{5}{15}$ November, his own birthday; he was little pleased to find, as he writes (all his letters are in French) to Admiral Herbert from Exeter, where he had arrived the previous day, $\frac{10}{20}$ November, that no gentlemen had yet come to meet him, and that neither the clergy nor the Mayor had awaited his arrival. A fact which did not hinder him from informing his correspondent that he was going to send all his transports back to Holland, as soon as the artillery and baggage were landed. The same complaint is repeated by Bentinck two days later, who adds that he is surprised at the backwardness of the clergy: "It seems to me that fear of the Brit. Mus. Egerton MSS. 2621. I. 14, f. 41. *Ibid.* f. 45.

1688. gibbet has more effect upon their spirits than zeal for religion." The Bishop of Exeter had fled to London, and Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, had already written, November 3, his noble protest :—

Tanner's Collection, Vol. XXVIII. Oxon. Macpherson's "Original Papers."

"Whereas . . . His Highness the Prince of Orange hath an intention to invade this Kingdom in a hostile manner; and as 'tis said, makes this one reason of his attempt, that he hath been thereunto invited by several English Lords, both spiritual and temporal. I, William, Bishop of Canterbury, do, for my own discharge, profess and declare, that I never gave him any such invitation, by word, writing, or otherwise. Nor do I know, nor can believe, that any of my Reverend Brethren, the Bishops, have in any such way invited him. . . .—Lambeth, 3rd day of November. Will. Cantuar."[1]

When William of Orange invaded England the country was in a state of quietude; even London was not stirred, and the negotiations with the discontented nobles, and with the officers of the Fleet and Army, continued by correspondence, unaided by any popular ferment, and, at the same time, unopposed by any outbreak of resentment. The English conspirators were in the awkward position of finding themselves in the power of the Prince, who held their signatures, and who openly avowed his intention of punishing "treachery and cowardice" by publishing their names, and, in case of his own retreat, by leaving them at the mercy of their justly irritated King.

Pub. Rec. Off., S.P. Dom. King William's Chest.

In William III.'s box are three letters without address, dated $\frac{12}{22}$ November, in which the Prince urges his correspondents in passionate terms to join him, and concluding: "Il est impossible d'être votre serviteur plus passionément que je [ne] le suis, et je le témoignerai en toutes occasions." He presses them to come at once in order to give a good example, and says he is preparing to start without loss of time, but the distance and the bad roads are a hindrance, and he has not as many waggons as he would like.

[1] In his last illness Archbishop Sancroft was heard by Mr. Nichols, his gentleman, to say: "I pray God Almighty for the poor and suffering Church, which is almost destroyed by this new Revolution, and I beseech God to bless the King, Queen, and Prince, and in His due time to restore them to their just and undoubted rights."—Macpherson's *Original Papers.*

Nature itself shared in the general quietude of England, the frost-bound land lay in the deep sleep of winter, and Hoffmann, in a letter to the Emperor, says "It is difficult to understand how the King and the Prince are to come to blows in this frost and snow." 1688.

Feverish efforts were now being made to save the ship of State by throwing overboard everything which could lighten it. Convinced at long last of Sunderland's treachery, the King had dismissed him and appointed the Earl of Middleton in his place. Catholics were turned out of office, a "free" Parliament[1] promised, and the old charters—though it was Charles II. and not James who had revoked them — were returned to the corporations. Father Petre fled to France, and James hastily strengthened his Army. It was too late, "the King has so lost credit, that were he to do a great deal more . . . it would only aggravate the evil; (it would have been different had he acted of his own accord before the fear of invasion)." Hoffmann to the Emperor.

Meanwhile the Prince of Orange writes to Herbert from Exeter, $\frac{17}{27}$ November, that the Earl of Bath, to whom, judging by that nobleman's letter, he had made great promises, would keep his word, and hoped to have Plymouth in two or three days. York, as we know from Sir John Reresby's *Memoirs*, was won by a trick, and Danby's letter from York to Sir John Hanmer, Colonel commanding at Hull, is still in existence, and gives us a lively picture of the methods employed by William and his associates. After offering to put into Hanmer's hands an opportunity of doing himself "an infinite greater kindness in point of advantage to your fortune than can probably ever offer itself again whilst you live," and pointing out "what divers of the best quality have newly set you the Example, as particularly the Earl of Bathe, who has declared for the Prince at Plymouth, the Duke of Grafton, Lord Churchill, and twenty other men of the first ranke," he asks for Hanmer's advice and assistance "to our surprise of Hull." After the usual argument of the Protestant religion in

Brit. Mus. Egerton MSS. 2621. I. 14.

Brit. Mus. Leeds Papers, Add. MSS. 28,053.

[1] The writs summoning Parliament for November 27 had been recalled in consequence of William's invasion.

1688. danger, the letter concludes with a promise of £5000 "to be paid to you in a month after it is done."

The King started for the camp at Salisbury on November 27, sending the Prince of Wales in charge of his governess, the Marchioness of Powis, on the same day to Portsmouth.[1] The King

Brit. Mus. Malet Collection, 32,096, f. 331. "Memoir" of Fr. Turner, Bp. of Ely.

"soon after dinner took a kind leave of the Queen and of the Princess of Denmark [whose letter to William of Orange sending him her wishes for his success, and announcing that her husband would join him, was written the following day], with a very particular concern for her [Princess Anne], giving it in charge to a great General Officer who was left to command the Guards, that if any misfortune befell him it should be concealed from that Dear Child till they could make the best of it, for fear of afflicting her, so little did her tender father suspect her of engaging against him."

Before the arrival of the Dutch invasion Lord Dartmouth, commanding the English Fleet, had proposed in a council of war to go over to the coast of Holland.

MS. "Memoirs" of Byng, Lord Torrington, Dalrymple's Appendix.

"But this proposition had no effect; . . . the greater number of the Captains were steady in their principles for the King, yet the chiefest and most considerable of them . . . were in frequent meetings with the cabals at this time. By their management they brought over a majority of the Council . . . to remain where they were, sending some frigates to watch the Dutch. . . . The Captains they were most desirous to bring over . . . were Ashby and Woolfred Cornwall, both of them zealous for the King, and had great credit with the Fleet . . . it was agreed that Mr. Byng should break it to them, for Ashby being his Captain, he had a particular regard for him. [Colonel Kirke had recommended Byng to the leaders of the Orange party.] Ashby was not soon prevailed upon, thinking that in their profession they were not taught to turn against the King . . . but upon his [Byng's] telling him that he knew the dispositions of the most considerable persons in the Fleet . . . and the necessity there was to free themselves from Popish oppression, he yielded so far as to become a wellwisher to the cause. Mr. Cornwall was more difficult to persuade. He expressed the obligations of himself and his family to the King, and thought it villainy in those who attempted anything against him; but when Mr. Byng mentioned some persons that were engaged in it that were his most intimate and particular friends he was surprised, and when convinced, gave up his zeal for the King."

Ibid.

When it became known to the malcontent captains that Dartmouth meant to pursue the Dutch Fleet, they

[1] The Marquis of Powis was created Duke by James II. at St. Germains.

consulted what measures to take in case of coming up with the enemy. Some were of opinion that they were bound to do their duty, but the majority decided "upon such an occasion, to leave him." The captains sent Byng, under the plea of urgent private affairs, to William at Exeter, who expressed great satisfaction at the news he brought him, and charged him with a letter to Lord Dartmouth, asking him to join him, and promising to keep him at the head of the fleet. There was some difficulty 1688.

> "how to give this letter to Mylord, whose zeal for the King was well known, and therefore Mr. Aylmer undertook it, and one morning took the opportunity to lay it privately upon his toilette. . . . A design was discovered to seize him on board the ——— commanded by Captain Hastings, who had invited him to dinner for that purpose, in which case they intended to give the command of the Fleet to the Duke of Grafton. But Captain Davy Floyd . . . having knowledge of it, discovered their design to Mylord Dartmouth . . . who avoided their putting it into execution by excusing himself from going. . . ."

At Salisbury the same acts of treason were in progress, and we are in touch with the greatest problem of all—how it ever came to pass that the majority of the superior officers of both services betrayed their trust, deserted their colours, and went over to the enemy of the king whose uniform they wore. With politics a soldier is supposed to have nothing to do, and the plea of zeal for religion, at all times a sorry cloak for treachery, could hardly be brought forward without ridicule in the face of the solemn protest and disavowal of the Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking truly in the name of his brethren, with the single exception of Compton, Bishop of London.[1] Bought, cajoled, suborned—Churchill, Grafton, and their associates committed an act which stands alone in the annals of their own or any other country.

Their treachery was despised by the men who profited by it; the Prince of Hesse and Marshal Schomberg—whom William, according to Sidney's advice, had succeeded in "borrowing"—openly showed their contempt

[1] Certain Bishops were seduced later, but up to the time of the invasion Compton alone seems to have secretly joined the Orange party.

1688. of Churchill when, after the failure of his attempt to seize the King at Warmynster, he joined the Prince's camp. Schomberg told him on his arrival that he believed it was the first time an officer of his rank had deserted his colours. William himself who, though he used traitors, loved them not, when once he had gained his object, treated Churchill with so marked a coldness and aversion as to excite the astonishment of those who knew how much he owed him. In nothing perhaps does the inherent power of the man show more clearly than in his behaviour to those who had been his accomplices. He kept his bargain, and paid them the price of their services, but no man dared presume upon his claims; the dukedom Lord Montagu asked was refused, and even Sunderland, in spite of his remonstrances, was left some years in exile in Holland.

Of the plot to seize the King at Warmynster and deliver him into the hands of his enemy, the evidence is found so often and so positively in the contemporary records, that it seems impossible to absolve Churchill of that supreme act of treachery. "This bleeding from the nose," writes Ailesbury, referring to the attack of hæmorrhage which laid James II. prostrate for three days at Salisbury, "was the hand of God, else the King had gone next morning to show himself at the head of his army at Warminster; and it was designed . . . to have delivered him up to the Prince of Orange . . . this lies on my certain knowledge."[1] From his bed James sent word by Lord Feversham to the mutinous officers, that those who desired to join the Prince of Orange should have passports. "There was on it a very dry acclamation," says Ailesbury, "but no one desired a passport, for they were resolved to go without one." Mutiny was confined to the officers; the whole brigade of 6000 to 7000 men under Churchill refusing to continue their march, and returning to the King, when they found that the object was to join the

Ailesbury "Memoirs," Vol. I. p. 189.

[1] On his return from Salisbury James II. told the Bishop of Ely that the nose-bleeding was the cause of his escape, hindering him from Churchill's importunities to go to Warmynster.—*Memoir of Bishop of Ely*, Malet Coll. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 32,096, 231.

James, Prince of Wales.

Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Prince of Orange and not to fight him; to the end the rank and file appear in general to have remained loyal. 1688.

The chief anxiety of the King was for the safety of his son, and immediately upon his return from Salisbury, he wrote to Lord Dartmouth that he no longer thought the child safe at Portsmouth, and ordering him to send him, in case the Prince of Orange's troops got between Portsmouth and London, by sea to Margate, with a sufficient number of ships to protect him. The condition in which Dartmouth found himself with regard to his captains, made the execution of the order impossible, and in an affectionate and sorrowful letter to the King he explained his reasons for disobeying him.

It is not often that a prince begins his adventures and hairbreadth escapes before he is six months old, as did this Prince of Wales. Byng gives us the story of his escape from Portsmouth: the "associated" captains, hearing that he was to be sent away to France in a yacht with Sir Robert Strickland, determined to seize him, and represented to Lord Dartmouth

MS. "Memoirs" of Byng, Lord Torrington, Dalrymple's Appendix.

> "the consequence it might be to himself to suffer his escape, when the nation was in confusion . . . they obliged him to give orders to Captains Aylmer, Hastings, and Shovel, to intercept the yachts as they should come out of Portsmouth in case he should escape. . . ."

Byng himself and his convert to Orangism, Captain Cornwall, were employed

> "to go in armed boats to wait his coming off, and to board his yacht in which he might be. They took it in turns each night to remain in the armed boat, while the others remained in the town to get intelligence, appointing a place to confer at upon occasion over the town wall. At the time Captain Cornwall was in town, he observed a great hurry in Mr. Ridge's house, where the Prince was lodged, and who was then on the stairs going to embark. . . . He found the Duke [*sic*] of Powis's coach and six horses at the door, and approaching them in the dark felt their legs, which he found dry, which made him conclude it was not a coach come in but going out of town. He was surprised at this, and found an end of their enterprise, the Prince of Wales going in the Duke's coach to London. They were nigh succeeding, since all baggage and necessaries for the child were then on board, and he certainly upon the point of going off. This was a great disappointment to those who had projected the design; and yet they afterwards thought

1688. their zeal had carried them beyond their policy, and that they were fortunate by their unsuccess . . . since their being possessed of the Prince's person must have perplexed the affairs then in hand. It was thought the discovery was made by Lord Dartmouth, who could neither avoid giving the orders he did nor suffer them to be put into execution. . . ."

Escorted by two faithful regiments of cavalry, which had been sent to meet him, the little prince reached London in safety, and a few days later, in his mother's arms, was carried into France.

The last scene, in which the King was to lose his crown and the Prince of Wales his inheritance, moved quickly. Broken-down physically, unrecognisable as the same man after the few fatal days at Salisbury, James was broken-hearted at the treachery of his daughters. "Why should I take it to heart to be ill-treated by any of my subjects when my own flesh and blood thus combine against me?" he said sadly to the Bishop of Ely, the morning after his return to Whitehall. The Bishop gives an interesting account of the meeting of the Peers called by the King, who managed the conference very skilfully, often interposing, and always much to the purpose. "If," said he, "I should comply with your wishes and call a Parliament, will you secure me that I shall not be served as Richard II. was by one of his own convening? Though should it come to that, I shall hardly behave so tamely as he did." Several lords expressed themselves with "much duty and loyalty against those deposing practices." The meeting rose, and the resolution was declared to send out writs for a Parliament, while three Commissioners—the Lords Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin—were sent to the Prince of Orange on the vain errand of preventing his advance. William had now been nearly a month at Exeter, and had not been idle. His emissaries were succeeding in raising disturbances and spreading confusion in various parts of the kingdom, and he had issued a proclamation ordering all Catholics, under the severest penalties, to lay down their arms, and give up any posts they might hold. "He is acting the king entirely," ruefully writes Rizzini to the Duke of Modena.

Malet Coll. "Memoir" of Bp. of Ely, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 32,096, 237.

There were still some faithful men left, who, like Ailesbury and Feversham, could not tamely submit to see their King oppressed without making an effort to save him.[1] 1688.

The day the Queen, much against her will, left for France—"The Queen wants the King to fight," says a letter from Whitehall of the time—Charles Bertie, brother of the Earl of Lindsay, held a long conference with Lord Ailesbury. He was sent to him by several chief officers of the army who stuck to the King, to assure him, and through him the King, that they would have ready at twenty-four hours' warning between 3000 and 4000 horse ready to march with him wherever he would command them, consisting of the Life Guards, Grenadiers, the Earl of Oxford's Royal Regiment, Sir John Lanier's, the Earl of Salisbury's, and Lord Brandon's, and others, although the Earl of Oxford, Sir John Lanier, and Lord Churchill had gone off to the Prince. Bertie concluded: "This the King may depend on, and that if a body of foot was thought necessary, the regiments of Guards and others were all inclinable, although many officers had gone off or were ready to do it, for of both horse and foot the common men, and most of the lower ranks of officers, were well inclined to the King's service." Ailesbury "Memoirs."

On his knees, and with tears, Ailesbury makes known his message to the King. "To what purpose?" is the reply. To march on Nottingham, where the Princess Anne, who had retired there, would either receive him or not; "if she refuse, and retire before him to Oxford, all will cry out on her." Or else to march to York, where the Earl of Danby is with his broomsticks and whisk-tail militia, and some raw bubbles he has drawn in, who will all run away, "and then, Sir, secure Berwick and march into Scotland; that kingdom will be entirely yours."[2]

[1] Lord Clarendon had already gone to the Prince in the vain hope of "making such a treaty as would be for the honour of both Princes." He was met by Dr. Burnet with the cry, "He must be deposed, he must be deposed."—*Memoir of Bishop of Ely.*

[2] "Pray, my Lord, what course would you have taken if we had come to York?" asked Ailesbury of Danby a few days afterwards. "What course? To

1688. Ailesbury besought the King not to leave the kingdom. "That is a coffee-house report, and why can you imagine it?" is the reply. "For the love of God, Sir, why will you hide it from me? Your horses are now actually at Lambeth; you are to ride Bay Ailesbury, Sir Edward Hales is there to attend you; Mr. Ralph Sheldon, your equerry; La Badie, page of the back stairs, and Dick Smith your groom." "This startled him," writes Ailesbury, and is an example of how badly the most important secrets were kept at the Court of James II. "If I should go, who can wonder, after the treatment I have found? My daughters both deserted me, my army also, and him that I raised from nothing, the same on whom I heaped all favours; and if such betrays me, what can I expect from those I have done so little for?" Ailesbury entreats him to wait for the answer of the three Lords who had met the Prince of Orange at Hungerford. James answers that he will see him in the morning; in the Guard-room Ailesbury meets Lord Middleton, who tells him the answer brought by the Commissioners is neither good nor bad, and half an hour later Ailesbury's footman, at the bottom of the private stairs, informs him that the King is gone.

By Christmas Day William of Orange was at St. James's Palace, and Burnet wrote a letter from thence to Admiral Herbert, which bears witness not only to the fact that the King's flight had played the game of his enemies, but that the day which saw the overthrow of his throne saw also the birth of that reaction and revulsion of feeling which was to bear the name of Jacobitism, to spread far and wide, and though ever struggling vainly in the grasp of the strong hands which held it down, was to be so tenacious of life that Dr. Johnson, nearly 100 years later, did not hesitate to ascribe the violent political excitement of 1784 to George III.'s defective title to the throne, and who declared, "If England were fairly polled the present

submit ourselves and crave his pardon." At Sacheverell's trial Danby owned, "I was a rebel when I resisted King James." And his last words, before his death, to Ailesbury were, "Next to the having offended so much the good God, nothing ever lay so much at my heart as what I had done against the good King James II., who indeed was misguided, but else a most admirable King."

King would be sent away to-night, and his adherents hanged to-morrow."[1] Jacobitism was to be the ever-present *crux* of the government of four successive reigns, generally unacknowledged, sometimes openly avowed, as when Walpole declared to an irate House of Commons that the enormous expenditure of secret-service money in the payment of foreign statesmen and of English agents [and spies] abroad, was the only thing that prevented the arrival of the Pretender in England. Jacobitism was to have the supreme testimony of the blood of its martyrs, was to be distinguished by the gracious virtues of its first Queen, was to have its confessors in Sancroft, Atterbury, Sacheverell, and the crowd of those who, like Clarendon, Ailesbury, Lansdowne, suffered imprisonment and poverty, or went into perpetual exile rather than betray the cause, which will bear its own fragrance of romance and heroism so long as its emblem—the snow-white rose—shall bloom. The one thing wanting, and which, save for the brief meteor-like career of Dundee, was ever to be absent, was the man of genius capable of concentrating and controlling the diffused energies of Jacobitism, of leading devotion and heroism to emancipation and to victory. 1688-9.

Burnet wrote on Christmas Day, after the arrest of the King at Feversham, and his return, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, to London:—

> ". . . We have now turn upon turn, the foolish men of Feversham, by stopping the King the first time, have thrown us into an uneasy after-game. Compassion has begun to work, especially since the Prince sent him word to leave Whitehall. . . . Your reflections on the poor King's misfortunes are worthy of you. I could hardly have thought that anything relating to him could have given me so much compassion. . . . I know it was not possible for you to have acted as some has done; but whatever one may think of that, wee must now shut our mouths, for there is discontent enough, and already the Army seems generally out of humour and uneasy at what they have done, and you know we have not the arts of cajolery. . . ."

Brit. Mus. Egerton MSS. 2621. I. 14, f. 83.

The last words evidently refer to the Prince's stiff and somewhat morose attitude at this juncture.

[1] His interlocutor, Dr. Taylor, a violent Whig, admitted that a poll of the people of England on the question of right would be in favour of the House of Stuart.—Boswell, 1777.

1689. Although William of Orange's chief agents in the Revolution of 1688 were drawn from the House of Lords, the members of that august assembly were by no means unanimous in desiring to have him as their sovereign. On January 30, 1689, by a majority of eleven—fifty-five to forty-four—the motion "that the Prince and Princess of Orange be declared King and Queen" was rejected; but they had put themselves in the power of a man stronger than they, and who was not disposed to be baulked of his ends. The Bishop of Ely, coming away from an audience, meets Lord Clarendon, who tells him privately that "all is naught," that the Prince affects the crown, and nothing less will content his followers.

Brit. Mus. Malet Coll. 32,096, f. 46.

To effect an appearance of legality to their proceedings, the Orange Party called to Westminster a Convention of Peers and such ex-Members of Parliament as happened to be in London; ex-Members, not of James's own last Parliament—they might not be safely depended upon—but of Charles II.'s Parliament of 1680. The men who had voted the Bill of Exclusion against the Duke of York could be relied on, and on January 29, 1689, they came to the memorable resolution that James II., "having withdrawn himself," had abdicated, and "the throne was thereby become vacant."[1]

James II.'s most unconstitutional acts pale beside the proceedings of such a tribunal; but once again "the trick served its turn," and a few days later a Broadsheet was published, giving an account "of the Proceedings of the Lords and Commons in the Parliament-House, upon their first Convention." This is a remarkable document in its appeals to the credulity, to the antagonism against France,

Brit. Mus. 1850. c. 6 (82).

[1] In the Reports of the House of Lords, 1689-90, at the Public Record Office may be seen James II.'s MS. letter. "For the Lords Spiritual and Temporal assembled or hereafter to be assembled at Westminster," repudiating the odious calumny of the supposititious birth of his son. "I appeal to all that know me, nay, even to himself [William of Orange], that in their consciences neither he nor they can believe me in the least capable of so unnatural a villany, nor of so little common sense to be imposed on in a thing of such a nature as that. What had I, then, to expect from one who, by all arts, hath taken such pains to make me appear as black as hell to my own people as well as to all the world besides. . . ."

and to the lust of conquest of the populace; and it also shows us William's masterly assumption of the part of a deliverer who has not very much time to spare, and who has already established a claim upon the gratitude of the nation he has succoured, to be proved by acts of material assistance to him in the prosecution of his own quarrels and his own designs.[1] 1689.

Three weeks later William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen "with great acclamation and generall good reception. Bonfires, bells, guns, etc." Evelyn, Feb. 21, 1689.

[1] See Appendix B.

CHAPTER II

1689-92. THE childhood of the Prince of Wales was a happy one. After the birth of his sister, the Princess Louise-Marie, June 25, 1692, the two children throve and prospered under the eyes of their parents and the watchful care of the Countess of Erroll, who succeeded the Duchess of Powis[1] as their governess, playing upon the broad terrace and in the palace of St. Germains, as their father had done before them, in happy ignorance of the successive disasters which had rendered their own exile permanent. The tenderest affection united the four royal exiles, and the baby Princess was, in truth, in her father's words, "she whom the Lord has given us to be our consolation."

We get glimpses of the Prince, at the age of two years, receiving his father in the Guardroom of St. Germains on his return from Ireland after the battle of the Boyne, making his little speech of welcome, and asking his blessing, behaving like a man so as to make the Queen cry for joy; invested, when four years old, with the Order of the Garter before the King's departure for La Hogue, and daily growing in feature more like his mother, "the truest disproof," writes the Venetian Ambassador, "of the false calumnies which insult her reputation."

So convinced was James II. that his arrival in England in 1692 would lead to his restoration that he did not hesitate, immediately after the disaster of La Hogue, to send Lord Melfort, and his private secretary, David Nairne, to Louis XIV., then besieging Namur, to entreat him to order the Toulon fleet, which had arrived too late

Nairne's "Journal."

[1] The Duchess of Powis died March 21, 1691.

for the battle, to carry him and his troops to England. Discouraged by the loss of fifteen battleships, Louis XIV. refused to incur further risks, and James had no alternative but to return to St. Germains. This was the reason of the delay which drew from the Queen, who was in daily expectation of being brought to bed, and who was still ignorant of its cause, the only words of complaint she ever wrote with respect to her consort: "The King has not chosen to return from La Hogue, though he has nothing to keep him there, and my condition speaks for itself to make him come to me."

1689-92.

Chaillot MSS.

French public opinion was becoming weary of the English King's ill-luck and its heavy cost to France; and the prevailing feeling found expression in an apocryphal letter purporting to be from James II. to Louis XIV., in which he speaks of his evil star, and begs permission to withdraw with his family to some corner of the world, "where I may cease to be an interruption to Your Majesty's wonted course of prosperity and glory." This letter was explicitly repudiated by James II. in a conversation at Chaillot[1]:—

> "I have infinite obligations to the King [Louis XIV.], and I can never sufficiently acknowledge them; but as to the Letter in Question, it's none of mine; I have not writ it. I am a Father, and I am a King; I cannot, and I ought not to abandon the Interest of my Children, nor of my Subjects; And I will never abandon them; I'll always do what depends on me to do, and after, submit to what God Almighty is pleased to order. . . ."

Brit. Mus. 601. e. 15. 1.

Despite the three great disasters which had overtaken his cause—the death of Dundee at Killiecrankie, the loss of the battles of the Boyne and La Hogue—James II. was probably right in supposing that his appearance in England in June 1692 would have resulted in his restoration. The tide of discontent, which had risen high, as had the murmurs of the people under the heavy weight of ever-increasing taxation; the imprisonment of so many important men, including Queen Mary II.'s own uncle, Lord

[1] This letter, through an oversight, is erroneously given as genuine in my *Life of Queen Mary of Modena.*

1692. Clarendon; the strong personal dislike to William himself, which is noticeable in contemporary documents; and the impression caused by the gallant bearing on the scaffold of Richard Ashton, the first Jacobite to perish for the cause, declaring himself happy to die for a King from whom he had received favours for sixteen years;[1] and lastly, the deprivation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, and the rest who would not take the oaths to King William, had worked up a state of affairs which would have rendered the restoration of the House of Stuart almost as easy as had been its overthrow.

Brit. Mus. MSS. f. 10,118

The letters of the time are full of allusions to riots, imprisonments, and the difficulty of the suppression of the pamphlets appearing daily against the Court and the Ministry. "It suffices for four or five persons to be seen talking together in the street to cause their arrest on suspicion that they are plotting." Lord Dartmouth, the faithful servant of James II., died in the Tower, November 4, 1691; Lord Clarendon, having been released from there on parole, in the previous July. Lord Ailesbury's name was at the head of the list of persons to be sent to the Tower submitted to Queen Mary II. (in William III.'s absence) on receipt of the news of King James's projected attempt from La Hogue, but the Queen struck it out. In recording the fact Ailesbury gives an interesting account of the character of that Princess:—

Ailesbury "Memoirs," Vol. I. p. 299.

> "She, as a good wife . . . submitted patiently, but had her anxieties of mind continually on her, and I knew very well that Dr. Tillotson [Archbishop of Canterbury] and Burnet, no doubt, thrust his nose in as a forward and —— casuist, and infused into her texts of Scripture adapted to their purposes as—husband and wife are but one flesh, so may quit father and mother, etc. She was wise and prudent, and well foresaw fatal consequences that might have attended her in case of a refusal, so outwardly she submitted, but God knows what she suffered inwardly, and to a high degree. . . ."

Ailesbury had been one of the most active partisans of

[1] Hanged at Tyburn, January 28, 1691. He had been Clerk of the Closet to Queen Mary of Modena. See Appendix C.

King James in preparing for the invasion, and had finally sent his wife to Princess Anne at Zion House, while he remained in hiding in London, with a message that the King might be in twenty-four hours in the kingdom, and that 5000 men, well horsed and with good officers, would be ready to escort her to meet her father, "to restore him to what you assisted in taking away from him, and by which glorious action you will repair for what you did in time past." The Princess was very attentive and pensive, and finally answered, fetching a sigh, "Well, Madam, tell your Lord that I am ready to do what he can advise me to." 1692.

Ailesbury "Memoirs," Vol. I. p. 293.

Ailesbury returned to Ampthill, and remained watching the weather-cocks, "with his nose always in the air," as some bricklayers at work on the house remarked to his servants; and on the Thursday morning the groom he trusted came to his chamber, and "swore heartily" as he told him the wind had changed. Ailesbury mounted his horse and rode to his old hiding quarters in London, where early on the following Saturday the sound of the bells woke him to the news of the defeat of La Hogue.

During King James's absence from St. Germains, Queen Catherine of Braganza arrived in France on her way to Portugal, and the little Prince of Wales performed his first official act—he had not completed his fourth year—by going to Pontoise to meet her, and escort her to St. Germains, where she spent two hours in conference with Queen Mary of Modena.

The acquisition of the Crown of England had not made a greater demand upon William III.'s subtlety and power of intrigue than did its retention during the first three years of his reign; his Ministers, almost without exception, were in correspondence with the Court of St. Germains, a fact of which he was fully aware, and the quarrels in the new Parliament were so violent that he threatened to leave the country, allowing himself to be "persuaded" by Nottingham and Shrewsbury to relinquish the intention. The self-reliant, calm audacity which had prompted him to send back his transports from Torbay continued to guide him, and in 1691 he went to take the command in Flanders

1692. with as much apparent security as if the seething discontent he left in England had been personal loyalty and affection. Ably seconded by his wife, he conducted the affairs of England in minute detail from abroad, while prosecuting the intricate diplomatic relations which resulted in the Grand Alliance, and while engaged in an arduous war with France which alone had taxed to the utmost the powers of a lesser man. Attentively considered, William's conduct tends to show that the sovereignty of England was not so much the chief object of his ambition as the means to an end, the source of vast supplies of money and men, of the increase in authority which enabled him to work out his main scheme,—the humbling of France, in which his personal enmity to Louis XIV. held so large a part.

King James thought to bind men to him by ties of gratitude, and was cruelly betrayed by those upon whom he had heaped his greatest benefits. William III. made no such mistake, he appealed to a lower but more potent motive, that of self-interest. His accomplices at first, his servants later, were made to understand that they depended upon him, while he never suffered himself to be influenced by them. By playing man against man, party against party, he tightened his rule upon the State, and there was never any need to press upon him the "clapping up" of suspected persons,—the Tower was filled with them, and Newgate also. Churchill he wisely employed at a distance, first in Ireland, and then in Holland, and he did not hesitate in 1692 to send even him also to the Tower on a charge of treason. While these acts of severity, occasionally deepening into grim cruelty, as in the Massacre of Glencoe and the express order to torture with boot and thumbscrew the Scotch Jacobite Neville Payne, struck salutary fear in those he ruled, William was too clear-sighted not to know when to be lenient.[1] He handed to Lord Godolphin a packet of intercepted letters the latter had written to Queen

[1] The attempt of William's apologists to relieve him from the responsibility of the Massacre by saying he did not mean his order to "extirpate" the Macdonalds to be executed will hardly stand in face of the warrant signed twice by him, at the top and at the bottom of the page. His object in both cases was more probably to strike terror.

Mary of Modena with a few words of rebuke, and retained him in office; and in matters of religion he was no persecutor, perhaps the only characteristic he shared with his father-in-law. Having ascertained the exact number of the remnant of Catholics in England, he exercised no acts of repression upon them, a fact which was duly impressed upon the Court of Rome. The penal laws and disabilities remained on the statute-book, but there was no active persecution, with the result that the more timid Catholics felt safer than when James II. was injudiciously attempting their emancipation. This fact is curiously exemplified by the species of panic spread among them by some words in the proclamation James II. sent into England before the attempt of La Hogue. They were "strangely disturbed and alarmed at it, so that it is scarce to be imagined what the King had to endure from their vain and frivolous apprehensions," writes Weldon in his *Collection for a History of James II.* "So great a number of copies of the Declaration were spread about London," says the same writer, "that the Princess of Orange, with all her care and diligency, could not compass the suppressing of them," and he gives an extract from the French *Gazette* of February 21, 1693, with the account of the condemnation to be burned at the stake for high treason of a woman who had been active in distributing them.

1692-3.

Brit. Mus. MSS. f. 10,118.

Undaunted by the failure of La Hogue, Lord Ailesbury, in conjunction with Admirals Sir Ralph Delaval and Killigrew, elaborated a scheme which Ailesbury himself secretly and at the peril of his life carried to St. Germains and to Versailles in 1693. At St. Germains he was taken to the Palace in a sedan-chair so as to avoid "the curious persons and knaves and spies, and the former as dangerous as the latter, but not designingly." Of his reception by the King and Queen, he says:—

"Memoirs" of Lord Ailesbury, Vol. I.

> "The King's heart might be equal to that of the Queen, but she had a more gracious way of expressing herself, and she soon added what was most endearing, and I remember it with all gratitude to this day. 'My Lord, no person can be in more joy than I to see you, but I tremble when I consider the danger you will run at your return.' . . .

1693. The Queen putting on no red, I own I was struck when I first saw her, and she perceived it, and with a sigh replied: 'Afflictions alter people fast.'"

The Prince of Wales is sent for and Ailesbury describes him as a lovely child, "from the nose upwards all of the Queen, and the lower part resembling his uncle, my royal master."

Carried with equal secrecy to Versailles, Ailesbury lays before Louis XIV. the proposal of the two Admirals—that Killigrew, in command of the fleet (Shovell being kept in ignorance), should sail 200 or 300 leagues westward on pretence that he had secret orders only to be opened at that distance, to give time for the French squadron to convey James II. with a competent number of troops of his own country in French pay, "a body not to terrify but to support the King until the well-affected" should join him. "For the common soldiers and troopers and quantity of inferior officers I entirely depended on, and on some of a higher rank," says Ailesbury. The squadron to anchor out of cannon reach of the fortress of Portsmouth, at "Port Down or some such name." Louis XIV. who had fresh in his memory the loss of his fifteen battleships in the previous year, asked how Ailesbury could be more assured of these Admirals than Louis had been last year of Rear-Admiral Carter? Ailesbury answered that Carter had been killed at the beginning of the fight, "and if he was true to his word, he lived not to perform it." The king then objected that the risk was too great: "If I come to Portsmouth, and the Admirals betray their word, then they may come foundering on me with a west or south-west wind. I shall be cooped up, my fleet must be absolutely destroyed, and the King my brother and his troops made a prey of."

Ailesbury "Memoirs," Vol. I. p. 340.

After a sorrowful parting with the English King and Queen, "and a sad sight for to see a King of Great Britain and Ireland the subject of what may be termed alms," the faithful envoy had a miserable journey back to England attended by so many perils, that when he reached Maidstone he fell from his horse in a swoon

through weakness from hunger, fatigue, and fever. When he arrived home, Lady Ailesbury failed at first to recognise him, and he lay for three weeks "between despair and hope." A long sojourn in the Tower was awarded him by William III., and when at length admitted to bail, he retired to his country seat, Ampthill, amid the loud rejoicings of the county. 1693-4.

Sir Ralph Delaval and Killigrew were not the only admirals eager to restore the legitimate king. According to Renaudot, Louis XIV.'s secret agent with the Protestant Jacobites, three admirals, "with a complete knowledge of the fleet, which is filled with officers on whom they can rely, and more than fifty lords" are ready to declare for King James; and among the Renaudot papers is the important declaration, couched in very different terms from the timid "invitation" of the seven lords to William of Orange in 1688, whereby fifteen peers of the realm, including Lords Clarendon, Huntington, Worcester, Lichfield, and the Bishops of Norwich and Exeter make known to the King of France their readiness to risk their lives and fortunes, and asking to be informed as soon as possible what further assurances "you require from us and our friends in order to give you entire satisfaction as to all you may expect from us. . . ." Paris, Bib. Nat. Renaudot "Papers."

It was at this moment—the end of 1693—that William, whose kingship was now acknowledged by almost all the great powers of Europe, let his ambition soar to the yet greater height of attempting to obtain from Pope Innocent XII. a recognition of his sovereignty. In perhaps the most curious document yet extant of that period, and with a hardy assumption of guileless innocence, he gave his own version of the events of 1688, a version which presupposed a strange ignorance of European affairs in the Pontiff to whom it was addressed, or a yet stranger readiness to accept so garbled a travesty of well-known facts. Only on such a supposition does it appear possible that so astute a man as William III. could have penned the document still preserved in the Vatican archives.

1694. Whatever his motives, he entirely failed in his attempt to delude the Pope, who had described him as the "Master of Europe," and tyrant over the Emperor and the King of Spain.[1]

It may safely be estimated that the Jacobites in England in 1694 were many times more numerous than had been the Orange faction in 1688, and it is one of the puzzles of history why James II. failed three times in an enterprise in which the Prince of Orange had succeeded at once. Apart from the great difference in temperament, energy, and genius between the two men, the chief reason of William's success lay in the fact that he was master of his movements. From the moment the opposition of "*Ces Messieurs d'Amsterdam*" had been astutely overcome, all the resources of Holland, its wealth, its army and powerful fleet were at his disposal. His letters to Bentinck contain short sharp words of command, and his orders in all departments will have been equally precise, intelligent, and clear. James II. started upon his enterprises with hardly a shilling or a man of his own, and nothing is more painfully evident in the despatches from Ireland to Louis XIV. than the constant interference of the French in every event of that campaign, and the perpetual refusal of the English King's demands. The very aims of the two monarchs were not the same—James II. desired to get to England as speedily as possible; Louis XIV. wrote with his own hand to d'Avaux, who accompanied the expedition: "The best thing King James can do is to forget he has ever been King of England." The severe storms William's fleet experienced on its first setting out did damage to his troops, which may almost compare with that which the French fleet suffered at La Hogue. In the first case William repaired the losses as expeditiously as possible and then set sail again; James II. appealed in vain to Louis XIV. to let him do likewise, and the memory of that disaster sufficed to make the French monarch turn a deaf ear to the offer from the fleet brought by Lord

[1] See Appendix D.

Ailesbury—a proposal much more important than the partial defections of the "associated captains" to the Prince of Orange in 1688.[1] Where unity of aim and concordance of method were conspicuously lacking, failure was a foregone conclusion. 1694.

Second only to the King's want of liberty of action, the most paralysing disabilities which lay upon Jacobitism were the lack of a strong leader in England and the divided councils which prevailed as extensively there as at St. Germains, and in the relations of St. Germains with the Court of Versailles. Lord Melfort, James's Secretary of State, led a party which was opposed by that of Lord Middleton, who had been Secretary of State before the Revolution, and had followed the King into France.[2] The French Court was carrying on negotiations with the Protestant Jacobites independently of King James and his Ministers, with the consequences of jealousies and suspicions which were inevitable. Renaudot looks upon Lord Melfort as a man of no capacity—which was probably true—and as little better than a traitor. Lord Ailesbury speaks highly of Melfort's probity, thinks doubtfully of Lord Middleton (who "traversed" him in everything), and calls Renaudot a "canary-bird" and a pensioner of the English Court. Differences of nationality, of creed, and of method among men of equal loyalty could not but hinder them from giving the full value of their faithful service, even when the anxiety of the chief members of William's Government to be secretly well with the legitimate King was a true indication of their

[1] Writing, after James II.'s death, of his love for England and that he openly lamented when he heard of an English Captain "that had not done his duty before being taken by the French," Lord Ailesbury adds: "which happened but too frequently by the remissness and ignorance of our fresh-water admirals, and our masters of merchant ships that were metamorphosed into captains of men-of-war, they [the English Government] suspecting all our old and good commanders as for being Jacobites. These resentments of the late King James, which were so noble and just, brought on him the ill-will of the French Court (but not of the King)."—*Memoirs of Lord Ailesbury*, vol. ii. p. 487. Evelyn tells us how "Mr. Pepys deplored the sad condition of our navy . . . governed by inexperienced men since this Revolution."

[2] Lady Middleton was appointed Governess to the Royal children after the death of Lady Erroll in 1693.

1694-5. estimate of the chances of his restoration. Churchill, now Lord Marlborough, sent him information of the movements of the fleet, Godolphin's zeal was only rendered inoperative by his timidity; while Lord Chancellor Somers himself, when the question of the exclusion of Court Pensioners was agitating Parliament, declared that if King James had been in England with a hundred men he would have been re-established.

Renaudot to Pontchartrain, Bib. Nat.

In a chaos of conflicting councils, of plot and counterplot, James II. and his Queen continued to be—as they had always been—the least suspicious of mortals, taking every man at his own valuation and thinking no evil until it was proved beyond dispute, often too late for remedy. These were qualities which endeared them to those capable of appreciating them, but which often caused their friends to groan over what Renaudot termed their too great *facilité*, and which must have rendered the task of William's spies at St. Germains an easy one.[1]

The almost sudden death of Queen Mary II. (December 28, 1694) caused a fresh ferment of Jacobitism; there were disorders in various parts of the country, the people clamouring to be "delivered from taxation and from foreigners." William III., though prostrate with grief, sent troops into Norfolk, Suffolk, and Northamptonshire, and order was restored. It was represented to Louis XIV. that now was the moment to interfere; but with three wars upon his hands and great scarcity in France, that monarch had to content himself with declaring that his "intentions to help the British King remained unaltered."

A few months after his half-sister's death, the Prince of Wales, on the completion of his seventh year, was taken out of the hands of the women, and the Earl of Perth, formerly Chancellor of Scotland, was appointed his

[1] The expenditure of secret service money was great. "The army was in vast arrears," writes Lord Ailesbury, "and often half starving. When Lord Ranelagh, Paymaster-General, was called to answer this by the Commissioners of the Public Accounts, he stopped their mouths by saying it was paid to the King on the head of secret service; and they had no power by the Act to ask further questions. . . ."

governor; the offices of Preceptor-in-Ordinary and Under Preceptor being filled by Dr. John Betham, a D.D. of the Sorbonne, and Dr. John Ingleton. The Prince seems to have been a serious, sensible little boy; we have the Queen's authority that the King was never angry with him but once, when at the age of four he showed symptoms of fear; and he had even then already begun to share in that care and sorrow for the suffering Jacobites at St. Germains which so oppressed his parents, if we are to believe the anecdote of his expressions of grief and the emptying of his little purse at the sight of some distressed Scotch officers. 1695-6.

Had the salic law not prevailed in Modena the Prince would at this time have been heir-apparent to that Duchy, Duke Francesco II., the beloved only brother of the Queen, having died, September 6, 1694, leaving no children. It would have been a lesser, but an uncontested heritage. It was deemed necessary from time to time to refresh the public mind in England with new inventions against his birth, one of the most circumstantial and the vilest being the work of one "William Fuller,[1] Gent.," the son of a butcher at Gravesend, who declared that the Prince was the son of "Mrs. Mary Gray," and that he could name the convent where she was detained by order of the King of France. The change which had passed over public opinion is exemplified by the vote of the House of Commons that Fuller should be pilloried as a cheat and false accuser, although it was well known that he enjoyed the protection of King William. Ailesbury calls Fuller "an unparalleled villain," and remarks that "this reign exceeded if possible" the time of Titus Oates, "when false evidence swarmed." Ailesbury "Memoirs," Vol. I. p. 279.

Jacobitism began to express itself more openly in London in 1696, and, at the same time, a third and last attempt was to be made to restore King James. William's army

[1] Fuller had been page to Lord Melfort, and was recommended by him to Queen Mary of Modena as a safe and trusty messenger. Charged with letters by the Queen to persons in England, he carried them to William III., and betrayed another messenger who had travelled with him.

1696. was in Flanders, and the best part of the fleet at Cadiz. A Mr. Powel was sent to St. Germains with the Jacobite proposals, and Louis XIV. prepared a force of troops—"8000 to 10,000 infantry, ten squadrons of cavalry, and 100,000 doubloons in gold." As on previous occasions, however, there was an insurmountable difference of opinion between the French King and the English Jacobites. He desired them to rise first; they wished the landing of the expedition to be the signal for their rising.

Rizzini to Duke Rinaldo of Modena.

> "And their reasons were good" [writes the Duke of Berwick]; "it was certain that as soon as the Prince of Orange became aware of a revolt . . . he would instantly send a fleet to block the French ports; and those who had risen would find themselves compelled to fight with their new levies against a disciplined force which would speedily destroy them."

The loss of Namur, taken by William III. after a prolonged siege, had probably suggested this expedition to Louis XIV., as much perhaps in order to give William that "diversion in England" so often recommended by some of his advisers, as in the hope of re-establishing the Stuart dynasty. He turned a deaf ear to the Pope's suggested mediation. "Bitterly annoyed at having lost time in a vain attempt at a relief, when, by turning his arms elsewhere, he could have gained advantages . . . equalling those the Confederates have reaped at Namur." Had Louis XIV. turned his arms towards England with boldness and decision, instead of adopting a waiting policy, he might have gained his object. Here again James II. was powerless; unable to change the resolution of the French King, he could but send the Duke of Berwick to England to convince the Jacobite party of Louis XIV.'s sincerity. Berwick found them not to be shaken; he also found a scheme on foot for seizing William III. in the midst of his Guards, with which he did not desire to be mixed up, and so returned to France.[1]

Ibid.

King James awaited him at Calais, and sent him at once to Versailles with the answer of the English Jacobites,

[1] Sir John Fenwick, though innocent of any knowledge of the plot, Sir John French, Sir William Perkins, and several other gentlemen were tried and executed.

and to beseech Louis XIV. to allow him to start. The Queen added her prayers and instances, but Louis was inexorable, and the English King had no other course open to him but to return to St. Germains, there to spend the six years of life remaining to him in the practice of those austere virtues and penances which were to gain for him the reputation of a saint; while William III. was to spend the same term of years before going "to face the eternal verities," as wrote Saint-Simon, "worn out before his age with the labours . . . which gained for him . . . the dictatorship of Europe." 1696-7.

Although William had not hesitated to accuse his father-in-law and Louis XIV. of having instigated a plot to murder him, he did not hesitate to approach them a few months later—July 1696—with a proposal to recognise the Prince of Wales as his successor, if they would leave him in undisturbed possession of the throne. How he would have settled matters with Princess Anne, what conditions he would have laid down later for the keeping of his promise, or how far he would have held himself bound by it, are interesting questions which never arrived at solution, and chiefly important to us as showing his estimate of the strength of Jacobite feeling in England after seven years' experience as King of that country.

To William's proposal, which was the subject of a secret article in the Treaty of Ryswick, James II. gave a prompt and absolute refusal, in which he was eagerly seconded by the Queen, who declared that of two usurpers she could more willingly suffer the present one than her own son, and that she would rather he died than wear his father's crown. The King's view is expressed in a letter of his Secretary of State, Lord Middleton (who had succeeded Melfort in 1695), to Pope Innocent XII., July 1696: "That such an arrangement would be a surrender of the absolute claim of hereditary succession." Of that right he held himself to be the champion and defender, and the incident is indicative of his character. Neither his age, the failures of his short reign, the ill success of his efforts to regain his crown, nor—more potent than all—

1697-8. his personal detachment from the things of this world in the increasing ascetic mysticism of his own life, could lead him to devise or entertain any plan of abdication in favour of the Prince of Wales, then nine years old, with even a tacit connivance at William's retention of the crown.

Even to secure the throne for the son for whose sake he had more than once declared he only laboured, James II. could not swerve from the inflexible attitude of King by legitimate right. The crown of Poland (on the death of King John Sobiesky) was offered him almost at the same moment, and met with an equally determined refusal, in which he was again applauded by the Queen. He declared he could not accept the allegiance of any other nation without violating his duties to his own. The more worldly-wise were dismayed. Duke Rinaldo of Modena; the Duke of Berwick, who writes in his Memoirs of William's proposal: "It was, if I dare say so, a great imprudence to refuse such an offer"; the King of France himself attempted in vain to modify the uncompromising disposition of the English King and Queen; while Rizzini, the Modenese envoy, does not even venture to touch upon his master's counsel with regard to the rights of the Prince of Wales. While his inheritance was being thus debated, the young Prince was preparing for the Sacrament of Confirmation, which was administered to him on June 24 by the Archbishop of Paris, in the Palace chapel of St. Germains.

After the Treaty of Ryswick had compelled Louis XIV. reluctantly to acknowledge William of Orange King *de facto* of England, Bentinck, now Earl of Portland, arrived in Paris as Ambassador-Extraordinary to the French Court. He was preceded and accompanied by a crowd of Englishmen, who seem one and all to have been eager to see the Prince of Wales; and it is curious to have the evidence—not only of William himself in this hour of triumph, displayed by his eagerness to persuade Louis XIV. to send the royal exiles away to Avignon, Modena, Rome, or even to Chambord, but of the French ambassador in London, Comte de Tallard—of the strength of Jacobitism in England. He writes to Louis XIV.:—

"9 *May* 1698. 1697-8.

"King James still has many friends in this country; it is certain that if the enterprise of La Hogue had succeeded, the greater part of England would have declared for him; and it is true that the King of to-day has no solid basis for his maintenance in the country except his army, of which he is master, and the neighbourhood of the Dutch, of whom he is equally sure." Affaires Étrangères.

The tenth birthday of the Prince of Wales was openly celebrated in London with great demonstrations of joy, the ships in the Thames firing salutes, and the English gentlemen who had the opportunity of seeing him at a hawking party given by the King of France, were delighted with him. "He is always pleasant to look upon," writes Rizzini to the Duke of Modena, "but on horseback he is seen to wonderful advantage for the grace, lightness, and gallant daring which at his tender age give him a special dignity and charm." This mingled dignity, lightness, and grace were to make of the young Prince one of the most elegant horsemen and dancers of his day; but they were accompanied by a certain coldness and reserve which contrasted with "the agreeable and caressing manners," "the engaging air," to quote the Queen, their mother's, words, of his sister the Princess Louise-Marie. "Very witty and handsome" was the young Princess, and her brother, when a boy, was often urged by Lord Perth, his governor, "to obtain by study the affability which his sister had by nature."[1]

Meanwhile portraits of the young Prince of Wales were sent into England by every opportunity, and in September 1699 we hear for the first time of the "Jacobite button," which has been invented to be worn in the coat of every one who engages for King James. Before the end of the year the Queen recommends her son to the prayers of the nuns of Chaillot, as he is to make his first communion on Christmas Day; and a few days afterwards she writes to tell of her dear son's very good dispositions on that solemn occasion: "I offered him to God with all my heart, asking Him to let him live but to serve,

[1] Nairne's *Journal* tells us that in March 1699, "the young Prince began for the first time to dine with the King and Queen regularly, and to have no more table for himself but only for supper."

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1699-1700. honour, and love Him; the child appears to me well resolved to that . . . *Confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in eo.*"

A few weeks later the Prince of Wales went in state to Notre Dame in Paris, being received with all honour by the Archbishop, who entertained him after Mass. This gave some umbrage to Lord Manchester, Bentinck's successor as Ambassador, who complains "that all the English ran to see him." English interest in the boy-prince was further augmented and intensified by the death, at the end of July, after four days' illness, of small-pox, of the young Duke of Gloucester, who had been declared next in succession after his mother, the Princess Anne, to the throne. His death removed, as Rizzini remarks when sending the news to Modena, the most formidable rival of the Prince of Wales; and there seems to have been a general opinion that the point of religion alone prevented him from being recognised at once, with the proviso "that the usurper" should be left in possession for his lifetime. "Meanwhile," significantly remarks Rizzini, "no calumnies are being uttered against his birth."

Archives Este Modena.

The end of the seventeenth century saw William III. confirmed in the dictatorship of Europe, recognised by all the powers—Rome alone excepted; France constrained thereto by hard blows, Austria and Spain by reason of their wars with France, and the lesser powers by motives of self-interest or self-protection. More or less reluctantly his kingship was acknowledged by all, though it is interesting to find that even before the advent of that adventurous monarch Charles XII., Sweden (perhaps out of antipathy for Denmark) was secretly inclined towards the legitimate King. At the time of the Montgomery Plot, in 1694, Sir James Montgomery, on his escape from prison, had been received and helped on his flight by the Swedish Ambassador in London.

Jacobitism had by this time lost its chief advocate and most zealous promoter in England in the person of Lord Ailesbury. The bill passed in 1697 rendering those guilty of high treason who had been in France without William's

permission was aimed, amongst others, at him for his secret embassy to St. Germains and Versailles. Ailesbury seems to have been a man loved even by his enemies. We have seen that Queen Mary had struck his name out of the list of those to be sent to the Tower, and now Marlborough himself gives him a timely warning, advising him to leave the country, or he will certainly lose his head. He therefore left London at the end of January 1698 for Brussels, where he spent the rest of his days in honourable exile. 1700-1.

There he met, in the year 1700, the Electress Sophia of Hanover, and records an interesting conversation with her in the convent of the English Dominican nuns. The Act settling the succession to the throne of England upon her had not yet been passed, but it was in preparation,[1] and walking aside with Ailesbury—"She told me," he writes, "that a crown was glittering, and with a sigh added, 'but it would be still more [so], if it arrived by a natural succession.'" "And this take on my word and honour," adds Ailesbury. The above anecdote interestingly confirms the Electress's well-known "Jacobite letter" to Mr. Stepney, English envoy in Brandenburg, in which she urges the claims of "le pauvre Prince de Galles" before those of her own family. Ailesbury "Memoirs," Vol. II. p. 495.

The year 1700 also saw the death of Pope Innocent XII. and of Charles II. of Spain; the latter event, followed by the proclamation of Louis XIV.'s grandson, the Duke of Anjou, as Philip V., and the counter-proclamation by the Emperor of his second son as Charles III., was to open the long war of the Spanish Succession, which was not to be without its influence upon the fortunes of the Prince of Wales. Philip V. was cousin to the Stuarts, and it was natural to hope that they might find in him, instead of "a slave to William," a friend to their own cause. The newly elected monarch made his visit of ceremony to St. Germains to the King, to the Queen, and to the Prince of Wales, who conducted him to his carriage, "always walking first," remarks Rizzini.

[1] The Act received the Royal assent June 12, 1701.

1700-1.

The royal children were bred up in all the rigid etiquette of courts, though they were never to taste of any of the advantages of royalty. They played their part well, and when, in the month of April 1701, the King and Queen went to the waters of Bourbon after James's first paralytic seizure, the Prince and Princess, aged respectively twelve and eight, won approval by the "maturity of sense, frankness of discourse, gravity of bearing, natural grace and most amiable and gentle manners" with which they received those who came to St. Germains to pay their court.

Rizzini to Duke of Modena.

Five months later, James II. lay on his deathbed, bidding farewell to his son in a last interview which was to leave an indelible impression upon the boy's memory.

Lord Perth, the Prince of Wales's governor, in sending an account of the King's death to the Abbot of La Trappe, tells of the last seizure on September 2, and the partial recovery the next day, when the sick man was able to eat the wing of a partridge shot by his son.

Brit. Mus. MSS. f. 10,118.

"When we were advertised . . . we were not told of the King's condition, and when the Prince entered the room and saw His Majesty covered with blood, pale and dying . . . he cried out and threw himself, bathed in tears, into his arms. The King embraced him tenderly and said: 'My son, I have only four words to say to you, in giving you my blessing, which I do with all my heart. Be a good Catholic, fear God; obey your mother next after God; be entirely dependent upon the King of France.'

"The physicians were crying: 'Mylord Perth, take the Prince away; you see the King's agitation.' And in truth he was weeping, and it was to be feared his emotion might bring on a return of the hæmorrhage. . . . I therefore tried to withdraw the Prince from the King his father's arms; they were weeping in a manner which would have moved the Prince of Orange himself—*et c'est tout dire*—but the King, with the small remnant of strength left in him, held his son embraced and said: 'Do not take my son away, let me bless him once again. . . .' And he blessed him with the sign of the cross; after which I led him away. . . . As soon as the King had expired, the Prince of Conty went in the name of the King of France to compliment the young King, as did the Papal Nuncio and Abbé Rizzini. . . ."

Having received the homage of the Duke of Berwick and the whole court of St. Germains, the Prince was

proclaimed at the palace gates as James III. under the title of King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the title of King of France being, for obvious reasons, omitted. This recognition by Louis XIV. caused no little discussion even among the well-wishers to the Stuart dynasty. He was accused of a weak complaisance to Queen Mary of Modena and to Madame de Maintenon; of a breach of the treaty of Ryswick; and, in the words of Saint-Simon, of having done no good to the young Prince, while he did infinite harm to France by provoking the English Government, and giving William III. good ground for urging on the new alliance between Austria, England, and Holland against France and Spain.[1] The French Ministers, in the Council called by Louis XIV. two days before James II.'s death, opposed the recognition, but were over-ruled by the King and the Dauphin, who maintained that although William III. was *de facto* King of England, the Prince of Wales had an inalienable hereditary right to the title, and that the terms of the treaty of Ryswick would be fulfilled by Louis XIV. taking no active steps to help him to recover his throne. That the crown of England had in a manner become elective instead of hereditary was a fact which the French King could not bring himself to admit. As to the new Grand Alliance, its preliminaries had been signed by the three contracting powers on September 7, nine days before James II.'s death (although the treaty itself was only signed the following month), and its main object was the support of the Austrian Charles III. against Philip V. for possession of the crown of Spain. Philip V. also recognised the Prince as *de jure* King of England, and

1701.

[1] Melani, the Tuscan resident in Paris, writing to Cardinal Paulucci, calls Louis XIV.'s recognition of the Prince of Wales as King of England "the greatest misfortune that could have befallen that Prince"; and again, December 5, 1701, "The Queen of England, who desired this recognition, has ruined the interests of the Prince of Wales . . . and greatly benefited those of the Emperor, who would never otherwise have found England so incensed against France; she has strengthened the usurper's hands." "The recognition of the Prince of Wales as legitimate heir to the throne after the death of King William," he writes in January 1702, "might have been made a merit of by the King of France, while leaving him free to urge the rights of that Prince at a more propitious moment."

Pub. Rec. Off. Roman Transcripts,

1701. this union of two great Powers in his favour—which it was to be the ceaseless effort of James III.'s whole later life to bring about—was nullified by the all-important fact that their arms were employed elsewhere, and that they had no forces at liberty wherewith to support that recognition, and to render it other than academic and ineffectual.

The news of James II.'s death was received in London with considerable sorrow and some compunction. The Duke of Ormonde carried the compliments of condolence of the Ministry to the Prince and Princess of Denmark at Windsor, who put themselves into mourning; "and so did the most of the fashionable sort," remarks Weldon in his "Collection," and the open character of public sympathy is shown by the widespread distribution of a mourning Ode, printed on paper with a broad black edge, and "dedicated to his son." The printer's name, D. Edwards, is given, and it was sold "by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1701." It commences:—

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 33,954, d. 16.

"My Muse, let sacred Truth be now thy Guide,
And Christian Charity oblige thy Pen
To lay all Prejudice aside,
Which does too often hide
The Virtues of Good Princes, and the best of Men;
For Prejudice thro' Int'rest or Revenge,
By subtle Male-contents once sown
Does Love, Obedience, Charity unhinge
And makes the Byass'd Heart prevail'd upon;
A Tool for others Welfare, not its own;
Alone 'tis the Infernal Seed of Strife,
And sowres the sweetest Acts of Human Life. . . ."

William III. was at Loo, but his Cabinet immediately took steps to oppose the wave of sympathy for the orphan legitimate King and his widowed mother; they began by renewing the old calumnies against his birth, and William Fuller was again their chief tool. He published and sent to the Lord Mayor, to the two Houses of Parliament, and to the Lords Justices a book to prove the pretended Prince of Wales to be the son of Mrs. Mary Gray, and with a particular account of the murder of Mrs. Gray in Paris. It

was in substance a republication of the libel for which Fuller had been pilloried some years previously, and the House of Commons again declared him a cheat and an impostor, in spite of a strong hint that he enjoyed the protection of King William.[1] 1701.

Meanwhile, at St. Germains, the Queen had entered upon her duties as Regent to her son, who was now thirteen years and three months old. The first council was held at six o'clock in the evening of September 24, "the young King being present." His governor, Lord Perth, was declared Duke; Lord Middleton, his Secretary of State, Earl of Middleton and Monmouth; Secretary Caryll, Lord Caryll of Dunford; and David Nairne, Clerk of the King's Closet. Nairne's "Journal."

At the next Council, again attended by James, the manifesto or declaration to be sent in his name to the people of England and Scotland, was drawn up and sent for approval to Louis XIV. through Madame de Maintenon and the Marquis de Torcy. By his will, James II. had commanded his son to take no revenge against his father's enemies nor against his own, and never to use any force in matters of religion.[2]

William III.'s reply to Louis XIV.'s recognition of the sovereignty of James III. was to recall his ambassador, the Earl of Manchester, from Paris, and to return to England to take more drastic measures against his young kinsman than the publication of libels in which no one believed. He succeeded, not without trouble, in getting a Bill passed attainting James of high treason, with the liability of being executed without a trial or any other ceremony than a privy-seal warrant, in the event of his falling into the hands of the reigning sovereign. So complaisant an Act had never been passed since the days of Henry VIII., in the case of the Marquis of Exeter. It was thrown out in two successive sessions, and Burnet

[1] A still more infamous libel against Louis XIV. and the Prince of Wales—"The Great Bastard Protector of the Little One"—was published at Cologne a few months later. The French King offered 5000 Louis d'or for the discovery of the author.

[2] See Appendix E.

1701. admits that "many showed a coldness to it, and were absent on the days on which it was ordered to be read," while the pamphlets published on the subject showed the state of public opinion.

With Jacobitism widespread over the face of the land it yet found no effective expression in Parliament. Venality had not attained the proportions it reached some fifty years later, when every vote was said to have its price, but there was corruption enough for the necessary purposes of William's Government. The temper of the House of Commons might show itself on side issues, such as the condemnation of William Fuller, the contemptuous refusal even to consider the proposal to include the Queen in the Bill of Attainder, although it had passed the House of Lords, and the continued delays in the passing of the Bill itself; but any open challenge of William's position was beyond the courage or the power of his secret opponents in both Houses. Such a challenge would indeed have been an eminently unsafe proceeding, exposing its champions, and paralysing hopes and plans, of which secrecy was one of the chief conditions; and if we find William's ministers in constant communication with the Court of St. Germains while bringing in his measures, the votes in both Houses may be taken as equally non-indicative of the true sentiments of their members. William III. had put five of his coaches into black, had taken purple mourning himself, either as King of France or to show his equality with that monarch, and it is hardly surprising that a contemporary Jacobite writer should use the term "crocodile" in describing these outward signs of woe, in conjunction with the proceedings against the life of the orphan son of the man for whom he appeared to mourn.

Meanwhile, important events were happening at St. Germains. If the Legitimist party in England had made no open sign on the death of James II. it was not so in Scotland. The Duke of Hamilton, at the head of a strong party of Confederate Lords, sent John Hamilton, Lord Belhaven, to the Queen Regent, to offer the crown to the

young prince, and to ask her to entrust his person to them. If he would embrace the Protestant religion everything would be easy, and Scotland would declare for him at once without waiting for the death of William III. Lord Belhaven had in former years been an ardent Orangeman, and had commanded the Horse against Dundee at the battle of Killiecrankie. He was now as ardent a Jacobite, and during the three months, from November 1701 to February 1702, he spent in France, he displayed the utmost zeal in pressing the Queen to agree to the terms he had brought, which included, upon her absolute refusal to entertain the question of a change of religion, a proposal that the young King should make a compact not to suffer more than a limited number of priests in the kingdom, and to engage to make no attempt to alter the established religion. This the Queen readily promised, but she would not consent to send her son into Scotland. His youth, her own firm belief that England would one day recall him to the throne of his forefathers, her apprehensions, not only for his safety, but that such a step might militate against the good progress of his cause in England, all conspired to make her reject an offer which the Scotch party at St. Germains, headed by the Duke of Perth, vehemently advocated.

1701-2.

Monthly Miscellany, Vol. II., Sept. 1707.

Mary of Modena, who had inherited the qualities which had made her mother, the Duchess Laura, so remarkable as a ruler, appreciated the good faith of Lord Belhaven, in spite of his antecedents, as readily as she was to detect, a few months later, the treacherous double-dealing of Simon Fraser.[1] Her own policy was clear and consistent; she knew that the help of France was a doubtful quantity, and that French interests were the underlying basis of all the schemes proposed by the advisers of Louis XIV. for the restoration of her husband and her son. Her hopes centred in England, in the English ministry,

[1] Lord Belhaven was impeached as a spy by the English Government in 1704; he opposed the union between England and Scotland "with all the heat imaginable," and was again arrested and carried to London in 1707, where he died, when out on bail, within a few days, "more affected . . . with Grief of mind than with an Apoplexy, lamented for his eminent qualities."

1701-2. in her estimate and love of the English people, and in the repentance of the Princess Anne, her letter to whom, written a few days after James II.'s death, shows us at once the principle which was to guide her future policy; she prays God to confirm her step-daughter in her resolution *to repair to his son the wrongs she had done to her father.* Like all the princes of the House of Este, the Queen had the talent, which her consort had so conspicuously lacked, of making judicious choice of her servants. From the first hour of her regency she reposed her entire confidence in the two men most worthy of it—Middleton and Caryll; she treated the faithful but rash counsels of the Duke of Perth with affectionate regard while never yielding to them; and although she obeyed James II.'s dying injunction to recall Melfort to St. Germains, and to make him assume his title of duke, she ever withheld all confidence and employment from him.[1] It is sufficient to read her letter to Cardinal d'Este in 1689 when, during James's absence in Ireland, she was conducting the mediation in the quarrel between France and the Holy See, or the paper she handed to Louis XIV. on the treachery of Simon Fraser of Lovat, to recognise her ability, her intelligent grasp of a subject, the clear, firm, and reticent expression of her own well-balanced conviction. Unsuspicious, slow to think evil, she remained to the end; but her strong common sense and sure instincts guided her amid the innumerable difficulties which beset her path. Under happier circumstances her five years of regency might have been a bright page of English history; they will ever remain the model of a queenly and gallant struggle against overmastering odds.

[1] When Lord Middleton, early in 1702, joined the Church of Rome, his first act was to offer his resignation to the Queen, and to urge her emphatically to accept it. He wrote that converts were "loaded with all reproach, which wit, malice, indignation, and zeal can devise . . . it would be a mighty prejudice to the Queen to have one about her so universally obnoxious. I have heard the Queen say that the King, her son, would do anything that he could in conscience to please his Protestant subjects . . . and here is now an opportunity of giving a cheap proof of this by dismissing an useless Servant. . . ." —*Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., Ellis Papers,* 28,919 (48). Needless to say, Mary Beatrice declined to accept her faithful servant's resignation.

When William III., riding Sir John Fenwick's horse, was thrown by a stumble over a molehill before the Abjuration Bill had passed the House of Commons, the Tories, while toasting "the little gentleman in black velvet" who had occasioned the fall, hoped that by repeated delays the King's death might occur before the third reading, but William was not to be baulked of his last blow at the life of the child whom he had despoiled and persecuted from the cradle. The bill was carried to Kensington Palace on the eve of his last day, and a facsimile of the signature which the paralysed hand could no longer trace was affixed by the side of his dying bed. 1702. March 7, 1702.

The lack of leadership among the Jacobite party, the good order in which the mechanism of government was left by William III., the fact that the Princess Anne was the daughter of the last Stuart King while the legitimate heir was but thirteen years of age, the reluctance of the English people to receive a king from the hands of their late enemy the King of France, as well as the illusion cherished by thousands that the Princess Anne would practically rule as regent for her brother, may be counted among the reasons, not forgetting the powerful one of hatred of the Catholic religion, which caused the accession of Anne to pass unchallenged and undisturbed in England. To strengthen her step-daughter's good intentions, to rely more than ever upon the promises of the English Ministers, and especially upon those of Marlborough and Godolphin, all-powerful at Queen Anne's accession, was, as we have seen, the policy of Queen Mary of Modena.

The zeal of Marlborough and Godolphin cooled, it is true, from the moment Anne was firmly seated on the throne, and they as firmly established as her indispensable advisers, but this change of sentiment was not made manifest to the Court of St. Germains.

In Scotland, meanwhile, on the death of William III., the Prince of Wales had been proclaimed at Inverness, under the title of James VIII., by that shifty and untrustworthy person, Simon Fraser of Lovat, whose assumed

1702-3. zeal for a time deceived Mary of Modena, and for a much longer period made him a *persona grata* to Louis XIV. and his Court. By becoming, or pretending to become, a Catholic, he succeeded in ingratiating himself with the Papal Nuncio Gualterio, one of the warmest and truest friends of the Queen and her son. Lovat went to St. Germains immediately after proclaiming the Prince, on the vain errand of persuading the Queen to send her son to Scotland, engaging to raise 12,000 men if France would give money and arms and land 5000 troops in Dundee and 500 at Fort William. In the month of July he returned to the charge, and obtained an audience with Louis XIV. through the Nuncio, and almost succeeded in persuading the Queen to sell some jewels to raise 20,000 crowns; while he remained in active correspondence not only with the Duke of Queensberry, English Commissioner in Scotland, but with the English Ministry in London, as their accredited spy.

Brit. Mus. Gualterio MSS. 20,294.

The alliance between France and Spain, the renewal of the war with England, seemed full of good augury to the Stuart cause, as was testified by the draft of a secret treaty whereby Louis XIV., Philip V., and Pope Clement XI. agreed to restore James III. to the throne of England.[1] The Scotch loyalists or cavaliers, as Lockhart calls them, were also earnestly seeking the same end; the question of the Hanoverian succession was before the Scotch Parliament, and the Elector of Hanover had sent £5000 to buy votes — too small a sum to be of use — remarks Queen Mary of Modena in a letter to the Nuncio. The Duke of Hamilton, on the other hand, applied to the Queen for £25,000, for which sum he undertook efficaciously to prevent the union between England and Scotland, and the recognition of the Hanoverian succession by the Scotch Parliament. "Do not lose a moment, or the occasion will escape you." Neither the Queen nor Louis XIV. himself were in a condition to find the money, and at Mary of

Brit. Mus. Vatican Transcripts Miscel. 164.

[1] "Queen Anne," writes Dalrymple, "impelled by the ambition of Marlborough, followed exactly the footsteps of her predecessor, confirmed his alliances, and declared war with France within two months of his death."

Modena's earnest entreaty the King of France wrote a secret letter to the Pope, March 22, 1703, enclosing the Duke of Hamilton's, and explaining that he would give the money willingly if he could, but that the war he had on his hands rendered it impossible; the scheme must be abandoned unless His Holiness could supply the necessary sum. The Queen had suggested that 100,000 scudi should be asked for, and she supports Louis XIV.'s letter in a long and impassioned appeal to the Pope, setting forth how the Duke of Hanover has sent a sum of money to buy votes in the Scotch Parliament, and that unless the faithful subjects of the King, her son, can command an equal sum, there will be no remedy for the evil—*non si puote rimediare al male.* Clement XI. sent the money, which the Queen forwarded to the Duke of Hamilton by a trusty messenger; but after long and stormy debates, and a heavier expenditure in bribery on the part of the English Government and the Elector of Hanover than the Pope's subsidy could counterbalance, the Act of Security for the succession of Hanover passed the Estates, though in a form from which the English Commissioner, the Duke of Queensberry, withheld his assent. 1703.

Soon after Queen Anne's accession Mr. Cayley, governor to Lord Bruce, the Earl of Ailesbury's son, was sent over to Aix-la-Chapelle to invite Ailesbury to return to England and to take the oath of abjuration. But that staunch Jacobite made answer: "What do you see in my face that bespeaks me to be a villain and a double-dealing man? You know what I have suffered for following my conscience in regard to the father, and will you have me abjure the son? No, sir, I will rather die first." The messenger embraced his patron's knees, saying: "My lord, I ever had the highest value and respect for you imaginable, but now, if possible, more and more, and I humbly beg your pardon." So Ailesbury stayed on in exile, watching the course of events, and noting with satisfaction that when the English and Dutch troops under Marlborough were at Liège in 1703, "The English hated the Dutch mortally, and the footguards and soldiers of all

Ailesbury "Memoirs," Vol. II. 531-32.

Ibid. p. 541.

1703. other regiments and troops had a great deal of Jacobite feeling amongst them."

The young Jacobite King had not completed his fifteenth year when, in the spring of 1703, we come upon the first of the many marriage proposals which, during the following fifteen years, were to be presented to his reluctant consideration. This first suggested alliance was with no other than one of the Duke of Marlborough's daughters, and its interest lies not only in the proof it gives of the terms upon which the Court of St. Germains stood with that important personage, but as showing the estimate the Jacobites had of his powers, and of his invariable attachment to his own interest. The matter is the subject of several letters from the Queen's Secretary, Lord Caryll, to a correspondent in England. They are written with great caution, cant names being used for all the persons concerned, the King figuring as a young merchant, *Mr. Mathews,* who, "though but a young beginner in the world, yet his qualitys and industry are such that all think he will make, in a little time, as able and as fair a dealer as any that have come upon the Exchange." Caryll even fears that Marlborough "might turn it another way, and endeavour to make the same bargain with young *Hanmer* [Hanover]. For perhaps he may think that a safer and an easier bargain; and you well know how true that merchant is to his own interest."

"Caryll's Letters," Vol. V. Macpherson's "Original Papers."

Queen Anne having placed herself in the hands of the Tories, the Whigs threw themselves into the scale of the house of Hanover, and we get an interesting account of the state of affairs in England in a letter from the Whig peer Lord Rivers to General Bulau at Hanover. The letter is in French, and in the hand of Robethon, a French refugee who had been William III.'s private secretary, and had attached himself to the house of Hanover before leaving William's service. Lord Rivers tells his correspondent that there is a party in England for the Prince of Wales, which is considerable and very zealous, and whose boldness is founded, not only on their confidence in the King of France, but on an assurance with which they

"Hanover Papers," 2, No. 202.

flatter themselves of being countenanced by the present Government. 1703.

"By a combination of several accidents . . . the members of the House of Commons have been chosen in a manner well calculated to extend the views of that party. . . . It is not to be imagined that they will choose to act directly for the Prince of Wales: they have adopted another method by proposing two bills in the lower House; the first in order to renew the disputes between the members of the Church of England and the Presbyterians . . . and they hope that, amidst these animosities, they will more easily conceal and advance their designs. The second bill appeared to have been intended in favour of those who, by accident, had neglected to take the oath of abjuration of the Prince of Wales in the time limited . . . but the real design was to re-establish all those who had refused that oath, and to dismiss all such as had been put into their places and offices.

"If these two bills had passed, one may easily judge what would have been the consequence. But the House of Peers, having a just apprehension of the danger of their designs, rejected with great firmness the first, and not only took everything that was mischievous out of the second, but added two clauses to it; by the first the oath of abjuration is imposed upon the whole kingdom of Ireland, which they had forgot to comprehend in the former Act; and the second makes all those guilty of High Treason who shall attempt, directly or indirectly, to prevent the succession of the House of Hanover. . . . Those who brought in the bill dared not oppose the clause directly for fear of exposing themselves. . . . But it must be observed that this majority in the House of Peers chagrined the said party to such a degree, that Sir Edward Seymour did not hesitate to say openly in the House of Commons that it was absolutely necessary that the Queen should make some new peers, in order that the majority of that House might concur in the designs of the Lower House. However indiscreet this speech was, the measure has been adopted; for the Queen has made some new peers since the prorogation of Parliament, of whom the son of Sir Edward Seymour is one, and another is the only man who refused to give his vote for establishing the succession of the Crown in the family of Hanover."

Letters like these show, not only what good ground Queen Mary of Modena and her ministers had for hoping and working for the peaceful restoration of James III., and how far greater was the part played by the House of Lords than by the Commons, in the withholding of the crown from the son of the man whom they had dethroned, but also prove the non-existence of any doubt or presumption of doubt as to the birth of the prince. Officially the

1703. letter *p* appears before the title of Prince of Wales; but as Lord Ailesbury remarks:—

Ailesbury "Memoirs," Vol. I. p. 174.

"His being afterwards called the pretended Prince was not by reason that he was not born of the Queen, but because they did not own the King his father any longer their Sovereign. And in the sequel, that good and great Queen Anne gave him the name by proclamation, etc., of The Pretender, she being Queen in possession, but inwardly respected him as legitimate son to her royal father King James, and the Queen, her mother-in-law."

The urgent appeals of the Scotch party, headed at St. Germains by the Duke of Perth, compelled the Queen to acquiesce, more or less willingly, in the negotiations with the Scotch Lords. In the month of May a paper of instructions, signed "James R.," had been given to Lord Lovat, whose treachery was to remain undiscovered some months longer, bidding him return to the Highlands, and make it known to all such as knew of his coming to St. Germains "the sense we have of the past proofs of their affections. . . . You are to let them know that the King of France hath promised us that whenever we shall be put in possession of our kingdom of Scotland by the faithful endeavours of our friends in that our ancient kingdom, he will then restore the Scotch nation to all the privileges they formerly enjoyed in France . . ."

Nairne "Papers," Bodleian Library.

In October Robert Stuart MacAlpine, chief of the Stuart clan, wrote to the Queen in the name of the principal Highlanders. He expresses their delight at the confidence reposed in them by the King and herself. They are all ready to expose their lives, and have entrusted Lord Lovat to promise in their name all they are prepared to undertake. MacAlpine urges haste, as things have never been so ripe as they are now, not only in the Highlands but in the Lowlands. John Murray wrote in almost identical terms, bidding the Queen place entire confidence in their messenger, Lord Lovat.

CHAPTER III

ALTHOUGH Queen Mary of Modena and her ministers had become convinced of Lord Lovat's treachery by the end of 1703, it was not until February 29, 1704, that the French Court was induced to believe in his guilt. At the earnest solicitation of the Queen, contained in a remarkable paper addressed by her to Louis XIV. on that date, Lovat was sent to prison for three years in the castle of Angoulême, and for other seven to a restricted liberty in the town of Saumur, whence he still continued to supply the English government with information as to Jacobite movements. In her paper to the King, the Queen adroitly and temperately let it be seen that the real designs of the French Court with regard to her son were not unknown to her. As Louis XIV., in 1689, had with his own hand written that James II. would do well to content himself with being King of Ireland and forget that he had ever been King of England, so now he had the notion of making James III. King of Scotland and of Ireland. 1704.

To make the Scotch loyalists take up arms, to help them with a moderate sum of money and a few Irish officers, would be most opportune for the French King's interests at the present conjuncture of onerous war carried on simultaneously in Italy, Flanders, and Spain. Should the Scotch prove themselves strong enough to re-establish their legitimate King, the Irish would soon rise and throw off the English yoke; and with those two kingdoms James III. could maintain himself against England, waiting patiently for the death of his sister, Queen Anne, to make himself recognised, spontaneously or by force, in England. If James were King of Scotland and the ally of Renaudot "Papers," Bib. Nat.

1704. France, as his predecessors had been before the union of the two crowns, such an alliance would deprive England of the power to injure France. It would not be the same thing if he were restored to the three kingdoms; whatever gratitude he might owe to Louis XIV., he would soon be drawn into interests opposed to those of France. If a rising in Scotland did not result in re-establishing the legitimate monarch, it would at least serve as a very useful diversion during the coming campaign, by compelling the English to withdraw a great part of their force from Flanders. These arguments are set forth in a long Memoir by Renaudot, who, foreseeing that the Queen will not consent to such a scheme, proposes that she and her ministers should be made *to lose the thread* of the negotiation—

> "as of an affair concerning the essential interests of His Majesty [Louis XIV.]. The ministers of St. Germains are resolutely opposed to the enterprise, saying it would be good for France and bad for them; . . . they say their King can only be restored by their negotiations with England, and try to make it appear that Queen Anne is well-disposed to him, that it would spoil all to irritate her and the whole English nation by a rising in Scotland."

Bodleian Library, Roxburghe Club, 1870.

In furtherance of their plans the French Government employed Colonel Nathaniel Hooke as their agent with the Scotch loyalists.[1] Hooke's correspondence, 1703-7, throws great light upon this interesting subject. Although he was a staunch Jacobite, he acted and wrote as the loyal servant of the French King, whose uniform he wore. On returning from a visit to Scotland, he gave the Marquis de Torcy, Minister for Foreign Affairs, a pithy portrait of the Duke of Hamilton:—

> "Alone capable of carrying out the affair. . . . In London his integrity is doubted, because he took his share of Hanover's money. . . . I think, however, that he took the money without binding himself to anything—*sans s'engager à rien.* He is naturally very circumspect, and having twice or thrice been in danger through the imprudence of the Court of St. Germains, he may have become more so; but he is a man of honour, and his word can be relied on."

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[1] See Appendix F.

In another Memoir, read at a council held by Louis XIV. on December 10, 1703, he describes the Scotch as poor, and that they love money; a considerable sum judiciously expended would secure the chiefs:— 1704.

> "One thing those gentlemen consider absolutely necessary; they can hope for no success if the Court of St. Germains has cognisance of their schemes. They are well aware of the two factions which divide that Court, and that both are equally suspicious of the Duke of Hamilton. . . . They complain of the want of secrecy in that Court . . . that it contains persons who make discovery of everything, some out of malice, others to wreck every design of the opposite faction. Of this they have quite recent proofs, by the knowledge the Government had of Lord Lovat's journey. These considerations have induced the chief of the King's friends to request the Queen to meddle no more in their business, but to let them manage it their own way."

Thus, almost to the very moment of Lovat's arrest, the Queen and the English and Scotch parties at St. Germains were accused of betraying, through carelessness or ill-will, the secrets which Lovat, still believed in by the party in Scotland, was daily making known to the English Government. Hooke proposes that Louis XIV. should act independently of the Court of St. Germains; he is the young King's guardian and protector, and may act in that capacity.

The Scotch Parliament met at Edinburgh, July 6, 1704, and the Earl of Cromarty, one of Queen Anne's ministers, in recommending that the succession should be settled in the Protestant line, made use of a strange distinction as to Her Majesty's *revealed will*, which raised the suspicion, with other circumstances, that her *secret will* was very different. The Queen was obliged, before she could get any supply, to give the royal assent to the Act of Security, by which it was provided, in case Her Majesty died without issue, that Parliament, if not then sitting, should meet and declare a successor to the Crown, who should not be the Same Person who was possessed of the Crown of England, unless, before that time, there was a settlement made in Parliament of the rights and liberties of the nation, independent of English counsels.

We have no record of the impression made upon James

1705. himself—the central figure around which these negotiations and schemes, these plots and counter-plots revolved. As his governor, the Duke of Perth, was the head of the Scotch party at St. Germains, and had been the vehement advocate of his departure for Scotland ever since the invitation of the Lords in 1701, it is likely that the advantages of that policy were duly pressed upon him,—and that they chimed with all the eager aspirations for adventure natural to a young prince of seventeen, ready to embark upon the unknown, and anxious to exchange the empty title of a king *de jure* for that of king *de facto*.

We have glimpses of the royal children at the New Year festivities at Marly in January 1705, when the Princess Louise-Marie, in her fourteenth year, made her first appearance at the French court, and won general applause by her beauty and her dancing. James III. was tall, slight, and elegant; to the regal romantic charm of the Stuart race, his mother had brought him something of the majesty and lofty grace of bearing, as well as of the beauty of feature which had distinguished the race of Este for centuries; and all was attuned in him to the pathos of his destiny, and to a slight languor of delicacy, the result of the strange treatment of his physicians in his earliest infancy. It was no wonder, then, that the eyes of all turned to him as he trod the measure of minuet or saraband—of Louis XIV. who, rising from his seat, remained standing while the King of England danced—of the courtiers, who pressed around with looks of speculative admiration and sympathy; as they watched the matchless grace of his dancing, to the music of Couperin or Lulli, in which lives to this day the fragrance of that old-world stateliness and ordered beauty.

Meanwhile in England the contests between Whigs and Tories rose to extraordinary height at the beginning of the year, although, as Macpherson remarks, the Tories were more intent upon annoying the Whigs than upon forwarding the views of the legitimate King. Some sensation was caused among the Jacobites by the Duke of Marlborough inviting himself to sup in private with his

sister-in-law, the Duchess of Tyrconnel, who had left the Court of St. Germains for Ireland in 1702, and who happened to be in London at the time. Marlborough was leaving for Flanders the next day, and had taken no notice of his sister-in-law for years. The conversation was general, especially on his part, wrote the Duchess to Lord Caryll, and when she descended to some particulars, he made the answer—which must have sounded oddly from his lips—"That he would do what honour and justice obliged him to do, without particularising anything."

1705.

Caryll's "Letters," Macpherson.

While her son's cause seemed to be making no real progress in England, in spite of all the negotiations being carried on there, Queen Mary of Modena continued to be the recipient of earnest solicitations from the Scotch Lords, and also from the French Court. In April, the Duke of Hamilton had written to her that he was ready to take up arms, that the King should come in person with a force; that the whole nation was more unanimous than ever, that the Countess of Erroll had sent three persons—to the Highlanders, to the Catholics, and to the Episcopalians; that the two first were ready to begin and venture all, that the last made some difficulty, being persuaded by Paterson, Archbishop of Glasgow, that whatever the King promised, the Pope and the King of France would not let him perform.

Hooke "Correspond.," Bodleian Library, No. 58.

Hooke gives an interesting account of an audience with the Queen, in which she defends the fidelity of Lords Middleton and Caryll, the latter of whom has served her for thirty years. She knows there are traitors at St. Germains, but they and the Duke of Perth are true. She has had great anxiety about Scotch affairs, but has at last resolved that some one must be sent to Scotland, and she hopes Hooke may again be chosen for the purpose by the King of France. She is well aware of the Duke of Perth's jealousy of Middleton and Caryll, and of the defects of all three; that Mylord Perth is eager to go too fast, and Mylord Caryll wished to do nothing; that as she strove to moderate the ardour of the one, she paid no heed to the difficulties raised by the other, the result of

Ibid. Nos. 66, 79.

1705. his great age (eighty years); that Mylord Middleton was the most moderate, though slightly inclined to the same defect as Mylord Caryll; he nevertheless approved the design as the one resource left to the King of England, and as an important stroke for France.

Hooke "Correpond.," Bodleian, No. 80.

Having made up her mind, the Queen set to work with her usual intrepid zeal to carry out the scheme. She desired Hooke to speak most earnestly to M. de Pontchartrain, minister of the navy, about a well-manned ship to take him to Scotland, and that it may be left, well-armed, under the command of the pilot Carron "to run our errands, and be allways ready to part at our call." She wrote to the Duke of Gordon, June 25, 1705:—

Ibid.

> "The last message my friend [James III.] and I had from you was so kind and generous that I can never give you thanks and praises enough for it. I wish everybody were of your mind, and would join hearts and hands with you for carrying on our cause, which, in my opinion, I have too good reasons for it, must be done this Michaelmas Term next or never. . . ."

The Queen wrote similar letters to the Countess of Erroll, the Duke of Hamilton, and the Bishop of Edinburgh, urging that a proper person should be deputed to come back with Colonel Hooke, and ending her letter to the Bishop, in which she says she relies upon him and the Episcopal party, with the words—"We desire nothing more than to free ourselves and you from misery, and to be amongst you in peace and quiet, and let every one enjoy their own." The Duke of Perth, overjoyed at the turn of affairs, writes July 3, 1705, to his sister, the Countess of Erroll, strongly recommending Hooke, and bidding her settle in what character he must appear so as to avert suspicion, whether as "a priest, a merchant, an *envoyé* from the Episcopal people who are loyal in England . . . or what else you would advise him to that may carry him safe. . . ." Perth thinks the Duchess of Gordon's house will be the best place to lodge Hooke's papers in. These papers comprised Louis XIV.'s instructions to Colonel Hooke, that he is disposed to help the Scotch as soon as he knows from them how it may be

Ibid. Nos. 85, 95.

usefully done. He requires to know the number of their troops, what intelligences they have in Ireland; he wishes them to send deputies to Paris, and reminds them that should a general peace supervene, he will not break it to help them, so they must act while the war is going on. He also sent letters, signed "Louis" and countersigned "Colbert," to the Duke of Hamilton, premier Peer of Scotland, to the Duke of Gordon, to the Marquises of Montrose and Drummond, and to the Earls of Erroll, Marishal, and Hume, with two others in blank. Colonel Hooke had a 1705.

> "*plein pouvoir* to agree, treat, and sign in the name of His Majesty, with those who hold the necessary powers, all treaties, articles, and conventions . . . either for the renewal of the ancient alliances between His Majesty and the Kingdom of Scotland, or any other matters which may be considered advisable for the good and the advantage of His Majesty and of the said Kingdom of Scotland. . . ."

The Duke of Hamilton had been suspected of an inclination to claim the crown of Scotland for himself, and the Duke of Perth charges Colonel Hooke to let him know

> "how zealously I have always stood up for his reputation and interest, when he has been accused here of setting up for himself, and having his own family and advantage in his view in all his proceedings."

Hooke "Correspondence."

Hooke was unfortunately to find that the jealousies and divisions were as great between Scot and Scot in their own country, as between the English and Scotch parties at St. Germains. The lack of a strong leader was never greater than in Scotland at this time. The Duke of Hamilton writes to Louis XIV.:—

> "The present situation of our affairs is such, owing to the jealousies and divisions even among the well-intentioned, that we are not in a position to agree together to send a joint acknowledgment of our gratitude to your Majesty, or to take necessary measures."

He writes in the same strain to Queen Mary of Modena, and ends:—"I will never desert your interest, nor promise more than I can do, only I beg you to allow me my own method. . . ." It was shrewdly suspected

1705. that the Duke's methods were intended to lead to his own wearing of the Crown. The Duchess of Gordon writes, in lemon juice, to the Countess of Erroll, September 2, 1705, that she has certain information that the Duke of Hamilton "has put proper and capable people to examine and work out his pretensions, . . . yet we must not seem to doubt him. God direct all for the best."

The Earls Marischal, Erroll, and Hume write to Louis XIV. that they hope to be able to send him a deputation in October; and the Bishop of Edinburgh lays before the Queen, in an interesting letter, the result of his consultations with the friends he has confidence in. A powerful force is requisite, as the King should be present in person, "and they cannot think of hazarding that treasure upon any too dangerous or desperate enterprise." There is no strong place in the hands of the King's friends whither to retreat to, "so that the least disaster would be irremediably fatal without timely succours from France," which cannot be reckoned upon "by reason of the uncertainty of the winds, and that the King of France is not always master of the seas." Also—

Hooke "Correspondence."

> "there are a great many among us, tho' displeased with the Revolution, yet so cool and faint as not to be animated but by a great probability of safety in the prosecution of their duty. . . . Wherefore, in consideration of the greatness of the enterprise, . . . and that the English may not be disgusted by the King's seeming to devolve himself solely or mainly on the affections of the Scots, it is humbly advised that a powerful force should be sent to England, and about 4000 or 5000 to Scotland. . . .
>
> The fears of Popery have been so often inculcated and warmly buz'd in the ears of the people as to make strong impressions, and not to be removed but by liberal condescensions by the King; they are drawn for substance in the enclosed paper. . . . I am sorry to send accounts that imply difficulties in the King's affairs, but I must be just and faithfull. I cannot say what more letters may come with this, for I find a great reservedness that way.
>
> Simon Frazer's miscarriage and Fuller's treachery makes people very cautious, and has bred such an incurable jealousie as to make the most diffident of those, who are not immediately and particularly known unto themselves. I pray God bless, prosper, and restore the King."

With these unsatisfactory answers—for a large force of troops was the one thing Louis XIV. was not in a position

to send—Colonel Hooke, with whom all the different parties expressed themselves well pleased, returned to France; and his report to the Marquis de Torcy was read before the King in Council on October 19, 1705. Hooke relates his journey, and states that since the previous year people had cooled, the Duke of Hamilton was distrusted, and the Duke of Gordon had vainly done his utmost to unite all the loyalists in the *Plan of Association* he and some others had formed. Hamilton had promised to sign it, and then put off doing so, first until the meeting of Parliament, and then again without giving any reason. The King's friends are ready to stake their all for their legitimate Prince, but will have no hand in setting the Duke on the throne. The first article they will demand is that the King shall come and put himself at the head of the well-intentioned.

1705.

Hooke "Correspondence."

Hooke then proceeds to give a graphic and amusing description of two secret interviews he has had, in the dark, with the Duke of Hamilton at the house of a Mrs. Largo, an old lady in whom the Duke had great confidence:—

> "He embraced me with affection, calling me his fellow-prisoner; we had been in the Tower together in 1689.[1] He explained why he received me in the dark—so that as everybody would ask him if he had *seen* me he could swear he had not. He said the Queen of England thought things safer than they really were. . . . He asked for money to support his partisans and to gain others, and he began with that article as the most necessary and the most pressing, . . . that it would make him master of the Parliament and capable of upsetting all the measures of the English Court; by that means he would prevent the succession of Hanover and the Union of Scotland and England."

Hooke objects that to bribe the members of Parliament, as the Duke proposed, would not be of much service, as it might have to be done *de novo* the following year, and that Scotland could not do better than to seize the present occasion (when England had so great a war on hand, and all her troops were so far away) to recover her liberty and

[1] When Earl of Arran; it was believed he had been arrested upon information given to William of Orange by his own father, the third Duke of Hamilton, whose treasonable correspondence with that Prince dated back to 1673.

1705. independence. From Hamilton's answers the envoy concludes that he intends to let matters drag on until Queen Anne's death, and then to make a push for the Crown himself:[1]—

> "The King of England and all Catholic Princes are excluded from the succession; and the Scotch, by the Act of Security, have debarred themselves from admitting the House of Hanover if they do not obtain the granting of all their demands during the Queen's lifetime. The same Act obliges them to choose their Sovereign of the royal line of Scotland, so that the Duke of Hamilton would be the only person not excluded from the succession. . . ."

Colonel Hooke did not betray his surmises, and the conversation lasted until six o'clock in the morning, the Duke getting behind the bed-curtains as it grew light; the next night he sent for Hooke again, and talked until four A.M.

> "in continual disputes. . . . He demanded £100,000 sterling to bring about a rupture, but would engage himself to nothing, . . . and at last frankly avowed that he could do nothing until the death of Queen Anne. . . . He did his utmost to persuade me to return forthwith to France."

Hooke gives a very different account of the Duke of Gordon:—

> "He is absolutely in the King of England's interest. . . . He told me if he were not a Catholic that Prince's party would not have remained inactive so long for want of a chief, . . . but it is absolutely necessary that a Protestant should be at their head; he had pressed the Duke of Hamilton extremely to assume the post, as being the only man in Scotland capable of it. If the King of England came in person there would certainly be less need of the Duke, but he dared not think of risking his person, although his presence would be worth 1000 men."

The Duke of Gordon asked for 10,000 troops. We thus see the premier peer of Scotland, in his nervous dread of committing himself, playing an undignified game of *bo-peep* with the King of France's accredited envoy; the Duke of Gordon debarred, as the unfortunate Lord Derwentwater was to be ten years later, by the religious difficulty from taking the place for which he was well

[1] He claimed through his ancestress, the Princess Mary, daughter of James II. of Scots, who married James, first Lord Hamilton, in 1474.

qualified; while the rest of the party, as represented by the Bishop of Edinburgh, were too cautious—and too intelligent—to accept the terms of Louis XIV.; we might almost say to fall into the trap he laid for them. 1705.

However mortifying this check might be, especially to the Scotch party at St. Germains, it probably caused little surprise to the Queen and her two English ministers, whose secret negotiations with Queen Anne's cabinet were being actively carried on. Godolphin was Lord Treasurer, and he and Marlborough were in frequent correspondence, under the names of *Gilburn* or *Goulston* and *Armsworth*, with them; even going so far as to promise the Queen that the Bill for the Protestant succession would be thrown out in the Scotch Parliament.

Nairne "Papers," Macpherson.

Meanwhile the Emperor Leopold II. had died (May 5, 1705), and the advent of his son as Joseph I. seemed of good augury to the Stuart cause; the new Empress, a Princess of Brunswick-Hanover, being sister-in-law to the Duke of Modena, Queen Mary Beatrice's uncle. Leopold II. had been the only Catholic ruler openly hostile to James II., and there would have been reason to hope for a new departure in Austrian policy towards the legitimate King of England, had not the unfortunate war of the Spanish Succession not only bound the Emperor more than ever to the English alliance, but induced the Duke of Modena himself to throw in his lot—to the great irritation of Louis XIV. and the dismay of the Court of St. Germains—with Austria, and to admit an Austrian garrison to his fortress of Brescello. The Duke of Savoy, Victor Amedeus II., had done likewise, though bound by even closer ties to the Stuarts, to France, and to Spain. His wife, Anne-Marie d'Orleans, had sent in her protest to the English Parliament against the succession of Hanover as standing next, after the children of James II., in the order of succession, in the right of her mother Henrietta of England, eldest daughter of King Charles I. She was niece to Louis XIV. and first cousin to James III., while the two daughters born of her union with Victor Amedeus were respectively the lately married

1706. wives of Philip V. of Spain and of the young Duc de Bourgogne.[1]

Although the Scotch Lords had not been able to send a messenger to France with Colonel Hooke, they despatched Charles Fleming, brother of the Earl of Wigtown, at the end of the year. He was taken prisoner at Ostend, and obliged to destroy the letters he carried; but after his release he gave their substance in a report to Louis XIV.

Hooke's "Correspondence."

Fleming gives the number of Government forces, foot and horse, in detail: "The whole comes to 2165, and the present establishment of the Kingdom should be 3000."

The individual tragedies which lay under all this play and by-play of Jacobite endeavours are illustrated by a short intimation from the Duke of Perth to de Torcy that a clerk in one of the English State Secretary's offices is ready to give information, only asking £100 a year for his expenses. We find that the luckless clerk's name was Gregg, and that he paid for his services to his legitimate King with his life, being tried and executed (April 8, 1708), his correspondence with France having been discovered in January of that year.

Meanwhile James was approaching his majority, which his father's will had fixed at the age of eighteen. The late King's confessor, Father Saunders, writing to a Father Meredith at Rome, describes him as growing strong and tall:—

Rawlinson MSS., Bodleian, No. 21.

"He has begun to ride the great horse, and does it very gracefully, and all say he will be a very good horseman. He has a great desire to make a campaign, and the Queen has asked it of the King of France, which he has not yet consented to. To all appearance it would do our King a great deal of good, and be much to his honour and reputa-

[1] Louis XIV.'s letter to the Duke of Savoy at the end of 1703 is short and stern:—"Since religion, honour, alliance, treaties, and your own signature are of no avail with you—*ne servent de rien avec vous*—I send my cousin the Duc de Vendôme to explain my sentiments. He will give you twenty-four hours to make up your mind" (*Pub. Rec. Off. Roman Transcripts Miscellania*, 164). The Duc de Vendôme was at first able to make good these haughty words by inflicting great reverses upon the Duke of Savoy, until the military genius of Prince Eugene came to his aid by the brilliant victory over the French before Turin in 1706.

tion; but the King of France will be loath to let him go till he can send him like a King. . . ." 1706.

The above letter shows that Mary of Modena had little faith in the immediate success of the Scotch negotiations, or she would hardly have wished to send her son "as a volunteer to Marshal Villeroy's army under an assumed name, so as to avoid ceremony and expense," as Dangeau notes in his journal. It also exemplifies Louis XIV.'s growing financial embarrassments in his present inability "to send him like a King."

On June 20, James completed his eighteenth year, and assumed the government of his small Court, displaying no joy at the prospect, as we know by a letter from the Countess Vittoria Montecuccoli Davia, lady-in-waiting to the Queen, to the Duke of Modena. She adds that she cannot describe the submission that the Prince has always shown to his mother. It was not surprising that James III. displayed little joy at assuming the heavy burden of a crownless sovereignty, of a barren authority hampered on every side by the despotic rule of Louis XIV., by his own poverty, and by the abject penury of the crowd of poor Jacobites who had lost their all for his cause; and, finally, by the rival claims of the Scotch and English, the Catholic and Protestant parties, which divided his little court.

Fénelon, no mean judge of princes, describes him as having "a quick apprehension of truth, a sincere love of it, a perfect relish of that divine virtue which is founded upon submission to Providence: this seems to be the governing principle of his life. Fénelon further describes him as affable, prudent, self-reliant, sociable, courageous, full of dignity, without haughtiness. To this we may add that he was a keen sportsman, a fine and intrepid horseman, and that he had inherited his mother's gift of letter-writing, expressing himself with the logical, temperate, and judicious clearness which characterised her correspondence. Her love of music he did not inherit. A week after his birthday he wrote in Latin, as follows, to Pope Clement XI.:—

1706. Hist. MSS. Com. Stuart "Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 205.

"Having attained the age at which our father directed by his will that we should become *sui juris*, our first duty is to render to your Holiness the homage and filial obedience due to you. Though driven from both our country and our throne for the sake of religion alone, and by the furious hatred of the heretics, we must trust that the greater wrong we suffer from men, the greater help our worldly affairs will receive from the Ruler of all things. But, whatever may happen therein, we are resolved that with God's grace no temptation of this world, and no desire to reign, shall ever make us wander from the right path of the Catholic faith, having been taught how infinitely the kingdom of heaven transcends all the kingdoms of this world. We earnestly desire your apostolic benediction."

Nairne "Papers," Bodleian, Vol. VIII. No. 33.

James also wrote to his friends in Scotland, and Lord Middleton in a letter to de Torcy (June 28, 1706), after saying that his master was applying himself "to business with the ability of a skilled workman," adds, "The Scotch despatch . . . is entirely in his own hand, and according to his own ideas, as were eight letters he has addressed to his chief partisans. . . ." The despatch runs as follows:—

Hooke's "Correspondence," Vol. II. (41).

"I thought the first thing I was to do after coming to my majority was to write to my friends in Scotland, which I do with a great deal of pleasure, but am very sorry I have no better news to send them; for, after all the misfortunes that have befallen the King of France of late, he finds it impossible for him to do anything at present for you or me; but he said you might be assured, as soon as he was able, he would do all he could to help you.

"It is a most sensible mortification for me to see this help diffir'd so long, not only for my sake but for yours, knowing the dangers you are exposed to in the meantime on my account; you may be assured that nothing will be left undone by me to obtain it as soon as is possible; in the meantime I hope you will do your best to keep Scotland out of the Succession and the Union, and keep yourselves as quiet as may be till a fit occasion. I am very sorry I can send you no help of money . . . but you know my circumstances, and the King of France's are such at present that he can send you none now. . . ."

Nairne's "Journal."

At a Council held by James at St. Germains, July 26, he "declared he was satisfied of all the articles contained in the inventory of the late King's effects annexed to his Will, and that he approved of everything the Queen had done. . . . His Majesty, with the advice of his Council, ordained that a discharge should be given to the Queen in due form. . . ." Another of James III.'s first acts was to

bestow the Order of the Garter upon his late governor the Duke of Perth, "dispensing with the ceremonies of election and installation." 1706-7.

The Papal Nuncio Gualterio was raised to the purple in 1706, and left Paris for Rome. The Queen, writing to him on November 2, tells him that Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,293, Art. 34, f. 59.

> "the Scotch Parliament met at the beginning of last month; the Princess is doing all she can to get the Bill of Union between the two Kingdoms passed—it is even said she has sent money for it; if that is true she will succeed. . . .[1] The well-intentioned are always in the same state, ready for everything if they can get help from this country, of which I have no expectation, and I have great reason to believe that there is a thought of peace, but what peace God only knows. . . ."

The disturbances in Scotland were increasing; the English Commissioner, the Duke of Queensberry, narrowly escaped being stoned to death by the mob in his own carriage, surrounded by his guards, and Macpherson is probably right in asserting that "Great Britain owed the continuance of the Government of the Revolution to the happy ignorance and confined policy of Louis XIV." at this conjuncture. The Act of Union was creating a resentment, even fury, that seemed likely to fuse differences and jealousies into united action; and the despair which filled many a heart is expressed in Lockhart of Carnwath's letter to Lyon of Auchterhouse, April 30, 1707 (the Union was to commence next day, May 1, old style):—

> "This being the last occasion I shall have of writing to you while Scotland's Scotland, I lay hold upon it, at once to lament and weep over the downfall of our countrie. . . ."

In his Memoirs (p. 339) Lockhart further describes that fatal 1st of May as

> "a Day never to be forgot in Scotland, a day in which the Scots were stripped of what their Predecessors had gallantly maintained for many

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[1] Lockhart of Carnwath gives the sum as £2000. The list of the noblemen and gentlemen and the sums they received are given in his *Memoirs* (pp. 267-8) with the remark: "*Murder will out*, and what is thus discovered is sufficient to satisfie any man of the true motives that induced the Ministry of England to lend this money, and directed the Ministry of Scotland in the distribution of it," p. 271.

1707.

Hundred Years. . . . So that now there was scarce one of a thousand that did not declare for the King, nay, the Presbyterians and Cameronians were willing to pass over the Objection of his being a Papist; for said they [Memoirs of Ker of Kersland, 1726-27], according to their predestinating Principles God may convert him, or he may have Protestant children, but the Union can never be good: and . . . on all Occasions, in all Places, and by People of all Persuasions nothing was to be heard throughout all the Country save an Universal Declaration in favour of the King, and Exclamation against the Union and those that had promoted it."

Instead of seizing this golden opportunity, Louis XIV. contented himself with sending Colonel Hooke again to Scotland "to amuse the Scots," as Macpherson remarks, with vague promises and long inquiries as to their artillery and gun-carriages. "Who will clothe, arm, and equip the 30,000 men whom the Scotch Lords must begin by assembling?" "Who will furnish them with guns, bayonets, swords, belts, bandoliers, linen, stockings, hats, and other utensils, such as hatchets, pickaxes, and spades?" [M. de Chamillard's instructions to Colonel Hooke, February 1707.] The whole paper betrays the profoundest ignorance of Scotland and Scotch methods and warfare.

Nairne "Papers," Vol. VIII. No. 37, Macpherson.

Queen Mary of Modena understood the situation better than did the Court of France:—

Hooke "Correspondence," Vol. II. (60).

"So persuaded is the Queen of England of the utility and good success of the enterprise that however great her own necessities, she offers to contribute the sum of 40,000 *livres* as part of the sum of 100,000 *livres* which she considers necessary in order to enable the Scotch to take up arms. . . ."

Louis XIV.'s *Plein Pouvoir* to Hooke, dated March 9, 1707, was in duplicate, one intended for the Jacobites, and the other for the Presbyterians, in which the name of James does not appear. The Duke of Hamilton was the recognised chief of the Presbyterian party, and this new departure in French policy is made clearer in the following clause:—

"As M. Hooke remarked in his first voyage that the Duke of Hamilton seriously thought of mounting the Scotch throne himself, he must bear himself towards him in such a manner as not to become 'suspect' of too great a zeal for the King of England. In fact, were it impossible for

that Prince to recover the throne of his ancestors, it would be better that the Duke of Hamilton should make good any claim he may have to the Crown than that Scotland should remain united to England under a Prince of the House of Hanover. . . ." 1707.

So great was his desire to see part of the English forces withdrawn from the Low Countries, that Louis XIV. seemed to be becoming indifferent as to whether James Stuart or James Douglas should wear the crown of Scotland. These instructions were probably not communicated to the Court of St. Germains, but the futility of Colonel Hooke's second mission was patent there, and the Queen, writing to Lady Erroll, assures her that

"it is not our fault that he [Hooke] is sent to you without any other help or succour, for we have used all possible means to persuade our great friend [Louis XIV.], who sends him, not to let him go without those things (arms, ammunition, and money which were once to have been sent with me—*note by Hooke*). . . . He was very loath to go in this manner, but, he being the servant and we no masters, he was forced to obey and we to submit to let him go once more . . . only to enquire of your present state and wants, which we offer'd to inform him [Louis XIV.] of, without his going . . . fearing that you would think we mocked you in sending so often to know your wants and never supplying of them, but all would not do, and the Master must be obeyed. . . . I fear the best time is past, and it is not reasonable to expose one's friends for ever, nor is it in my son's interest they should do anything rashly, and contrary to the rules of prudence and discretion.

"I pray God send this man's going be of no prejudice to none of you. . . ."

Colonel Hooke carried a similar letter to the Duchess of Gordon, in which the Queen, with her habitual unsuspicious charity, defends the fidelity of the Duke of Hamilton, asking

"leave to differ in mind with you, and not to believe it is a false friend has lost us this affair, for I think it is our great friend [Louis XIV.] has lost it, by not sending succour when it was asked by all amongst you, even by him you call the rotten reed [Duke of Hamilton]. . . ."

Hooke returned to Paris in July bearing with him a "Memorial of the Scotch for the King of France," in which they undertake that the whole nation will rise and dissolve the present Government the moment their King has landed; that they can, out of "that great muster of

1707. men," form an army of 30,000, of which 5000 will be horse and dragoons, wherewith to march directly into England; and after the oft-repeated request for a force of troops, arms, and money, concludes:—

> "We do likewise humbly entreat his most Christian Majesty to honour this nation with a General to command in chief under our King, whose ranck and quality may oblidge all our great men to submit to him without reluctancy."

The Memorial is signed: "Erroll, Stormont, James Ogilvie, G. Moray, W. Keith, Kinnaird, Pa. Lyon, Drummond, Thos. Drummond, Thos. Fotheringham, Alex. Innes." The Duke of Gordon, Lord Strathmore, and other Lords contented themselves with writing to Louis XIV. that they approved of the Memorial, while the Duke of Hamilton writes that unless the King of France will send 15,000 men, it is useless to make any attempt. He ends a long letter to James III. ". . . I shall conclude as I have begun, either come strong or wait God's leisure, for a weak attempt is never to be retrieved. . . ." Hooke also brought plans of Edinburgh, Inverness, and Inverlochy Castles, furnished by Lord Drummond and Major-General Buchan, Drummond undertaking to seize Inverlochy with 3000 men and the help of Lord Breadalbane.

The keen disappointment felt in Scotland as the precious days flew by is expressed in two letters from the Duchess of Gordon dated the 9th and 23rd August, 1707:—

Hooke "Correspondence."

> "We are in the greatest consternation at having no news of you; . . . the Duke of Hamilton begins seriously to espouse our interests. . . . In God's name what are you thinking of? Is it possible that after risking everything to prove our zeal we are to have neither help nor answer? All is being lost for lack of knowing what measures to take. . . . If we are left in this uncertainty the people will cool. The chiefs will take alarm, and finding themselves despised—*se voyant méprisez*—they will make their peace rather than remain for ever with the halter about their necks. . . . Come when you please, and to any port you choose, you will be well received, but unless you come soon . . . the party will break up and it will be too late."

The Court of France made no answer for four months to these passionate remonstrances; and finally in reply to

a memoir presented by Hooke in December, de Torcy sent a note after a Council held by Louis XIV. on the 31st of that month, to the effect that the Scotch must remain united, and let nothing abate their zeal, and that he was preparing to help them; before the end of the following month of March he would send them "particulars of everything, and his final directions." 1708.

Circumstances were too strong for Louis XIV. He was now in his seventieth year, and his military power, permanently crippled at Blenheim (August 1704)—when 25,000 French and Bavarian troops had been slain or taken by the Austrians and English under Eugene and Marlborough—had been still further weakened by the Austrian successes in Italy and by Marlborough's in the Low Countries. In Spain alone, the military genius of the Duke of Berwick—for that Englishman, the son of James II., was the only uniformly successful general of Louis XIV.'s latter days—was holding its own against the Austrian Archduke Charles, who had taken the style of King Charles III. Turenne, Colbert, and Louvois, the three great ministers of Louis's will, were gone, and that will, as imperious as ever, no longer had the strength to make itself instantly and implicitly obeyed. "The King of France, or rather M. de Chamillard," are words which occur in Hooke's *Memoirs*, and he gives instances of orders delayed in execution or entirely neglected by M. de Pontchartrain, Minister of Marine; de Torcy alone, of the Ministry, was really the friend of the Stuart cause, and uniformly ready to help Queen Mary of Modena and her son.

Having failed to induce the Scots to take up arms unassisted, Louis XIV. determined at last to consent, as far as he was able, to the persistent demands of Scotland and of James, "who was transported with joy," writes Dangeau under the date of March 3, 1708, "at the thought of the enterprise."[1] The same day Dangeau

[1] "That prince's joy is beyond belief, notwithstanding the perils to which he will be exposed; one good thing is that there is no suspicion in England that France is in a condition to undertake the enterprise; but in Holland it is

1708. makes casual entry of another fact, the formidable importance of which, at a period when no regard was ever paid to the dangers of infection, passed unnoticed by all concerned: "The Princess of England has had the measles, but is cured." The Duke of Perth, Lord Middleton, Colonel Sheldon, Richard Hamilton, and several others had already started, and David Nairne, Clerk of the Council, had packed the great seals and James's declaration,[1] and James, under the name of the Chevalier of St. George, left St. Germains the following Wednesday, March 7, and reached Dunkerque on the 9th, where he lodged at M. du Quay's, the governor of the town.

Nairne's "Diary."

The "good succour of troops," gleefully announced by James in a letter to Cardinal Paolucci, consisted of 6000 men, which Louis XIV. had at last found means to detach for the purpose, under reluctant officers, and probably equally reluctant themselves. Admiral the Comte de Forbin, who was to command the small fleet, has left us in his *Memoirs*, published at Amsterdam in 1730, a valuable confession of the spirit in which he set out on this great enterprise. When Pontchartrain informed him that he was to go to Scotland with the King of England he "clearly realised there was no hope of success . . . and could not see his master sacrifice 6000 men . . . without raising a voice of protest: if they disembark in Scotland you may consider them, I assure you, as already lost," and forgetting that he was speaking to his hierarchical chief, he asked: "*Who is the ignoramus responsible for this arrangement?*" Forbin adds that he was by no means blind to the jealousy which existed between the Ministers of War and Marine.

Chevalier de St. George, Jacobite Movements, 1701-21, C. S. Terry.

Ibid. How Scotland was making ready to receive her King is interestingly told in a narrative by Charles Fleming, brother of Lord Wigtown, who had been despatched from St. Germains on February 29 to carry the good news of the coming expedition to Scotland. He landed at Slaines

beginning to be talked about. . . ."—*Melani, Tuscan Resident in Paris, to Cardinal Paolucci. Pub. Rec. Off. Roman Transcripts Miscel.* 164.

[1] See Appendix G.

Castle, belonging to Lord Erroll (arriving in a fishing boat so as to avert suspicion), and his news, so long sighed for, was received "with all the joy that might be expected from a man who had given all the proofs of most extraordinary zeal for the service." Lord Erroll immediately sent orders all along the coast of Fife and Lothian to have boats and pilots ready, "which was faithfully executed." Notice is sent to Earl Marischal and to the Catholic Bishop of Scotland, Mr. Nicolson, that he may warn the Catholics of the north to hold themselves in readiness. The Duchess of Gordon, the Marquis of Huntly, then in the north, the Laird of Coxton, the Chevalier Keith and Major-General Buchan are also advertised, and Fleming takes the tidings to Lord Strathmore in Angus, who is "transported to see affairs in so great forwardness," and sends warnings to some of the chief gentry and to Lord Panmure. The same evening, $\frac{5}{15}$ March, Fleming arrives at Lord Nairne's, who has had his vassals ready, for five months past, to take arms upon the first news of the King's arrival. 1708.

Lord Nairne and all the other lords were anxious to know the name of the commander-in-chief of the French force, eagerly hoping it might be the Duke of Berwick, whose reputation was great in Europe. The fact that Berwick, soon after the battle of Almanza, had been recalled to France, had so confirmed them in that hope, "for they could not imagine he could be recalled from Spain for any other purpose," and had "conceived so great an esteem for him," that Fleming dared not venture to tell them that he was not to be employed in the expedition. At Castle Drummond Fleming is received with great joy by the sons of the Duke of Perth, the Marquis of Drummond and Lord Thomas Drummond, and goes next into Stirlingshire to Lord Kilsyth, and to his own brother, the Earl of Wigtown. On $\frac{11}{21}$ March he arrives at the Laird of Kilmaronoch's, who sends the good tidings to the Earl of Dundonald; and there Fleming awaits in vain "with impatience the news of the King's arrival."

The unfortunate young King was prostrated with the measles the day he arrived at Dunkerque, but so great

1708. was his eagerness to get afloat that, in spite of the doctors, he had himself carried on board the Admiral's flagship, the *Mars*, on the 17th of March, the eighth day of his illness. He wrote a short note to his mother :—

Dangeau's "Journal."

"At last I am on board. The body is very feeble, but courage is so good it will sustain the weakness of the body. I hope not to write to you again until I do so from Edinburgh Castle, where I expect to arrive on Saturday."

The small fleet, under Admiral Forbin, consisted of seven men-of-war and twenty-one transports, conveying 6000 troops under the command of Marshal de Matignon. It put to sea on the 18th of March at six o'clock in the evening, encountering a heavy gale at the outset. The delay caused by the untoward illness of the Prince had given time to the English fleet, greatly superior in number, to put to sea; it was commanded by James's old enemy, Byng, who had so nearly succeeded in capturing him at Portsmouth twenty years previously, and who was now Sir George Byng and an Admiral.[1]

Nairne's "Journal," and M. d'Andrezel's account of the Expedition.

On the second day after leaving Dunkerque three of the French transports were disabled by the heavy weather, and after signalling their condition, returned to harbour. A council was immediately held in the King's cabin to decide whether the expedition should proceed, notwithstanding the loss of the 800 men and the large quantity of arms and stores on board those three transports. "The King decided the question in the affirmative."

By the 23rd of March the French fleet, after eight days of bad weather, was anchored at the mouth of the Firth, the intention being to land at Burntisland, and to send a detachment from thence to seize Stirling; but at dawn of the following day, Sunday, March 24, the English fleet was sighted, and Forbin, eagerly taking advantage of a change in the wind, made away to sea, giving orders, in case of dispersal, to his vessels to gain Cromarty or Inver-

[1] " . . . London is full of confusion and alarm, and several great noblemen have been arrested ; the confusion will be greater still if the Stuart King happily arrives in Scotland."—*Pub. Rec. Off. Roman Transcripts, Melani to Cardinal Paolucci*, April 1708.

ness. James demanded, with the greatest insistence, to be set on shore, declaring he was resolved to remain in Scotland, even if he were followed by none but his own servants. Forbin, however, absolutely refused, saying it could not be done. 1708.

The first four English men-of-war to arrive overtook the French *Auguste*, and a cannonade began at four o'clock in the afternoon, which continued until the Englishmen turned their attention to the *Salisbury*, which, with the *Griffon*, had come up meanwhile. The engagement lasted till nightfall, with the loss of the *Salisbury*, a former British prize, now retaken by the English. When night fell, seven or eight ships—the French fleet having put out its lights—were dispersed; the impression arose that the enemy had captured them, and that nothing remained to be done save to make for Dunkerque. The next morning, however, finding they were not pursued, the English fleet having lost sight of them during the night, Marshal de Matignon and Admiral Forbin consented to try and make Inverness, sending Boyne and Carron in the *Espérance* to get pilots. Violent contrary winds made it impossible to go northwards, while the fear of lacking provisions was a further inducement to return to France. Calm weather and contrary winds made navigation so difficult that Dunkerque was not reached until the afternoon of the 7th April, Easter Eve. "We were eight days agoing to Scotland," writes Nairne in his Journal; "we were a fortnight a-coming back, and it was a great providence we escaped all dangers of the sea and of the enemy."

The Scotch had sent Lord Griffin and three other gentlemen as hostages of their good faith to St. Germains; and Lord Griffin, Lord Clermont and Mr. Middleton, sons of the Earl of Middleton, Colonel Wauchope, and Mr. Sackville were on board the *Salisbury* when she was taken.

Marshal de Matignon, in his official despatch to M. de Chamillard, dated Dunkerque, April 7, 1708, after enlarging upon the risks and difficulties which had

1708. compelled the abandonment of the expedition, expresses his own affliction at having no better account to give, "and at the vanishing of all our hopes before such insurmountable obstacles." One encounter with the English fleet resulting in the loss of a single vessel, multiplied by their apprehensions to seven or eight, sufficed to make the two French commanders abandon so important an enterprise. Admiral Byng's behaviour also appears somewhat strange; after the short combat on the evening of the 23rd, in which only four of his ships and three of the French were engaged, his pursuit cannot have been very energetic, as he never came up with Forbin again during the fortnight in which he was slowly beating back to Dunkerque.

What wrathful grief filled the breast of Admiral Forbin's chief passenger at this pusillanimous retreat, could only compare with the greatness of the hope and joy with which he had set forth to regain his ancient kingdom of Scotland. After writing to Louis XIV. for permission to join the French army in Flanders, which was immediately granted, James left Dunkerque on the 17th of April, arriving four days later at St. Germains.

CHAPTER IV

THE lame and impotent conclusion of the Scotch expedition was vigorously criticised. Its non-success was attributed to Chamillard's and Pontchartrain's mutual jealousies, and even Louis XIV. was unjustly suspected by the Scots of never having intended James to land in Scotland. We have seen, under Forbin's own hand, that no commander ever started more predisposed to failure on an important enterprise; and the Papal Nuncio in Paris reports a conversation with the Queen in which she told him that one of the chief causes of the loss of her son's enterprise was the lack of order and conduct in the navigation; and that there would have been sufficient time to effect a landing, if proper measures had been taken. But the most important witness is de Torcy himself, who, in a cyphered letter to Cardinal Gualterio, May 7, 1708, laments "the causes which brought about this failure," and which would have tried the Cardinal's patience to the utmost had he been in Paris to witness them. The success of the enterprise would have tended so greatly to the French King's glory, to the good of the country, and the peace of Christendom, that the writer hopes his Majesty will not abandon it, but that he may yet find some fortunate conjuncture for renewing the attempt, perhaps at a moment when his enemies shall least expect it.[1]

Brit. Mus. Vatican Transcripts, Add. MS. 15,398, 138, xxx.

Ibid. Gualterio "Papers," Add. MS. 20,318, f. 264.

[1] There seems to have been a general consensus of opinion that the success of the expedition would have re-established peace in Europe. The Duke of Berwick wrote that "Queen Anne, according to all appearances, in order to prevent a civil war, would have sought an accommodation" with her young brother: and Melani, writing to Cardinal Paolucci, April 16, says: "The Scotch enterprise, had it succeeded, would have given us peace." He also blames Admiral Forbin.

1708. James's return to Dunkerque was known in Scotland by the public papers, and threw the country into consternation. Fleming, who had witnessed the good disposition of the counties through which he had travelled, describes the universal joy appearing "in everybody's countenance," that had prevailed in Edinburgh. "The loyal subjects thronged together, and those of the Government durst not appear in public." Then, in a moment, all was changed, and the consternation was so great that everybody appeared distracted. Fleming's instructions had ordered the King's friends not to take arms openly, nor to appear in the field until after the landing of the expedition, and as the French fleet had retired without transmitting any orders from James as to how they were to act, they were completely at a loss, "having no one who could take upon him to give them orders."

Fleming's "Narrative," C.S.Terry.

To Lockhart, who felt assured that if James had landed the greatest part of the country would have joined his standard, the subject was too melancholy to be insisted upon. He tells us, however, of the triumphant attitude of the Whigs over all they thought inclined for the King and against the Union, and how the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and all the prisons in Edinburgh were crammed full of nobility and gentry. If the Government expected to bring any of them to punishment it was disappointed, as a verdict of "Not proven" was returned against them all at their trial in the following November. The Duke of Hamilton was taken prisoner to London, but availing himself "of the discords between the Treasurer and the Whigs, struck up with the latter and prevailed with them to obtain not only his, but all the other Prisoners' liberation."

Lockhart "Memoirs," p. 381.

Only one of the prisoners in the Tower, the aged Lord Griffin, was condemned to death, and his execution fixed for the 27th of June, "but without design," writes Lord Ailesbury, "to take away his life." He was, in fact, reprieved from time to time, until his natural death two years later. This leniency of Queen Anne and her

Ailesbury "Memoirs," Vol. II. p. 606.

ministry was a striking sign of the times. In a conversation with the Duke of Marlborough the following year, Ailesbury inquired "what Queen Anne had desired most" at the moment of James's expedition? Marlborough replied, without hesitation, "that he might return safe to Dunkerque." 1708.

Ailesbury "Memoirs," Vol. II. p. 607.

He would have been, in truth, an embarrassing captive; and Queen Anne was no doubt glad to have to content herself with setting a price upon her brother's head, proclaiming him "Pretender," and declaring all who abetted him guilty of high treason.

Under the title of Chevalier of St. George and with a small equipage, James left St. Germains on the 18th of May to join the camp of the young Duke of Burgundy at Valenciennes. That he hoped the field of his operations might not be confined to Flanders is clear from the instructions, dated April 25, which he gave to Charles Farquharson, when sending him on a secret mission into Scotland, "to be shown to such as we have ordered you, and whose names, for their security, we will not here insert." After expressing his trouble and concern for their sake and his own at the failure of the last enterprise occasioned by his sickness and other unforeseen accidents:—

Nairne's "Papers," D.N., Vol. II. f. 22.

"You are to assure them that far from being discouraged with what has happened, we are resolved to move heaven and earth, and to leave no stone unturned to free ourselves and them; and to that end we propose to come ourselves into the Highlands, with money, arms, and ammunition, and to put ourselves at the head of our good subjects; . . . and since we are so desirous of venturing our person we hope they will follow our example, this being a critical time which ought not to be neglected.

"The most Christian King has promised to support this undertaking with a sufficient number of troops, as soon as they can be transported with security. In the meantime we will stay in the Highlands, unless we be invited and encouraged by our friends in the Lowlands to go to them. . . . And in case they approve this our project, and promise to stand by us, we desire that all means be used to get possession of the Fort of Inverlochy, and that they inform us of the fittest place in the Highlands for our landing, and send along with the bearer two or more able pilots, who know these places, and can conduct us to them. . . .

"J. R."

1708. These instructions were submitted to the French Court, with a paper declaring that:

Nairne's "Papers," D.N., Vol. II. f. 51.

> "the King of England, far from being discouraged by the last enterprise, finds himself more animated and determined by it never to spare his person; but to leave no means untried for recovering his dominions."

Before leaving St. Germains James signed the warrant appointing Norbert Roettier engraver-general to the mint for Scotland, and he gave orders to Roettier respecting the several species of gold and silver he was to coin.[1]

"Memoirs" of Saint-Simon.

James's first battle was that of Oudenarde, July 11, 1708, where he distinguished himself by his gallantry, and won the approval of all, including the English. M. de Biron, who had been taken prisoner during the day, and was dining at the Duke of Marlborough's table, was closely plied with questions concerning James by the Duke, who apologised for calling him "Prince of Wales," and declared himself greatly pleased with the praise bestowed upon him by de Biron, the English officers listening meanwhile "with beaming faces." Even into the din and turmoil of battle James carried something of the cold reserve and reticent self-possession which had characterised him from a child. Anthony Hamilton describes him as

> ". . . ce roi charmant
> Que, dans les dangers de la guerre,
> J'ai vu tranquille, indifférent;"

and the Duke of Berwick praised "the great valour and coolness of the King of England." The Electoral Prince of Hanover, the future George II., was present with the German contingent at that battle.

We get an interesting sidelight on the events of the

[1] The Papal Nuncio in Paris writes to the Pope, May 4, 1708, ". . . The Marquis de Torcy has confided to me that the King of England, during the coming campaign, is to make a new attempt towards Scotland. With this view, he is going into Flanders under colour of making the campaign, in order that his Majesty may be nearer the spot, and that his movements may be the less foreseen."—*Brit. Mus. Vatican Transcripts Add. MS.* 15,398. 144. 27. Had success crowned the arms of France at Oudenarde, the attempt would certainly have been made.

previous spring in a letter from Madame de Maintenon to the Princess des Ursins. After describing Queen Mary of Modena's satisfaction at the admirable conduct of her son, she says: "The Chevalier of St. George is so well liked, that if he wished to return to Scotland there would be as great a press to follow him as there was before to avoid that voyage." The remaining events of the year's campaign were the surrender of the city of Lisle on October 23, the passage of the Sheld and raising of the siege of Brussels in November, the surrender of the citadel of Lisle on December 8, and the retaking of Ghent on the 30th of that month, in weather so severe that the horses' hoofs froze to the ground. James wrote to his mother that his *incognito* suited him very well, as it gave him constant opportunities of meeting the officers. He caught an intermittent fever at Mons, with which he returned to St. Germains, where he remained invalided until the spring. 1708-9.

Ignoring the low state of France, terribly aggravated by so severe a winter that the fruits of the earth were destroyed, and famine was added to the other distresses of war, the Scotch, in their keen desire to have their King among them, sent Louis XIV. a state of the Highland clans, in the hope of inducing him to send aid by representing their own power.[1]

But far from being able to help James to recover his throne, the stress of adverse circumstance was compelling Louis XIV. to contemplate the necessity of abandoning him. The exhausted people of France sighed for peace, and Louis had already sent President Rouillé to the States-General with general offers of accommodation. The States communicated these offers to the Courts of Vienna and London, with the result that Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough were sent to the Hague at the beginning of April 1709. These two successful Generals, buoyed up, says Macpherson, with the hopes of penetrating into France the next campaign, considered the French overtures unacceptable, and Marlborough returned to London

[1] See Appendix H.

1709. to inform Queen Anne that the French offers were rejected, and the allies determined to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. Rouillé having meanwhile sent a courier to Paris for fresh instructions, Louis XIV. despatched the Marquis de Torcy, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to the Hague. In all the conferences held to settle the preliminaries of peace, it was demanded by the allies, and conceded by the King of France, that he should abandon the cause of the legitimate King of England, and dismiss him from his dominions.

This bitter trial had been foreseen at St. Germains, and James, in a dignified memoir, written by Lord Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy, asks Louis XIV.'s leave to quit France, "as the only means of giving him a testimony of his gratitude." Divers places of sojourn are then considered, the Papal States being excluded "for reasons too evident to be specified," and the Swiss Cantons, "as he would be at too great a distance from what he ought never to lose sight of." The Spanish Low Countries are named, but only in preference. The King of France is also urged to solicit earnestly for an indemnity "to all those who have followed the late King out of England, and the King's son, as well as for those who find themselves exposed to troublesome inquiries at home for having done their duty since the Revolution in England."

Nairne's "Papers," D.N., Vol. II. f. 28, Macpherson.

It is difficult for us, with our knowledge of the end of the story and of the solution of the problems which were being laboriously worked out, to realise how large a share of the attention of the Cabinets of Europe was held by the poor, landless, crownless exile, James III. and VIII. Inasmuch as the rights of kings, their power and authority, were undoubted and revered and held in exaltation, so was the violation of legitimate right calculated to carry disturbance into the elements of public affairs. The hopes of some, the fears of the greater number, were based upon the belief, fortified by past experience, that sooner or later the principle of heredity to the crown of England would reassert itself. To Austria, obstinately bent upon seating the Archduke Charles upon the throne of Spain, the

prospect could not be agreeable of seeing a separate peace made between France and England, which would have been the result of James's success in obtaining the crown, or recognition as Queen Anne's heir. Such a peace would not only have set Louis XIV. free to reinforce the Duke of Berwick in Spain, and to bring his campaign, already successful, to a speedy and triumphant end, but would have deprived the Emperor Joseph of the very necessary sinews of war, the gold he obtained from England.[1] 1709.

Holland, tightly wedged in by her two formidable allies, anxious above all things for the promotion of her commerce, would gladly have welcomed a general peace; but she foresaw that James's success could not be accomplished, in all human probability, without previous hostilities in England, in which she, according to her treaties with that country, would be compelled to take part, leaving her own territories less well defended. The minor powers, both Catholic and Protestant, were, for various reasons of self-interest, obliged to follow the lead of the principal allies.[2]

If, therefore, the vision of the kingly young soldier, who had shown himself valiant and intrepid in adventure and on the field, loomed in the background of the Council Chambers of the Continent, his image impressed itself with tenfold intensity upon the public mind in England, which was gradually working up to the great outburst of Jacobitism at Sacheverell's trial the following year.

In Parliament party faction was at fever-heat. The Whig Junto[3]—to whom Godolphin and his masterful father-in-law the Duke of Marlborough had capitulated—forced a Ministry, originally composed of Tories, to rest upon the support of the Whigs. Bribery and terror were the

[1] Godolphin's financial scruples as Lord Treasurer caused him to raise many difficulties in the way of a loan to the Emperor in 1705, but Marlborough finally succeeded in extorting his acquiescence.—Coxe, i. p. 479.

[2] When asked what news there was of a peace, Major Hamilton, an English officer, replied that they "durst not talk of it before Prince Eugene; but when they were with the Dutch they talked of nothing else."—*Letter from Charles Booth, Groom of the Bedchamber, to Lord Middleton*, June 26, 1710.

[3] Composed of the Marquis of Wharton and the Lords Halifax, Orford, Somers, and Sunderland.

1709. methods used, when Lord Wharton could roar across the House of Lords that he held "Mylord Treasurer's head in a bag." He had, in effect "treated with" Lord Annandale for an original letter of Godolphin's to Queen Mary of Modena, of which Annandale had become possessed, and had already made use of to induce the Lord Treasurer to turn out the Earl of Sutherland (elected as one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland) to make room for himself. In consequence Godolphin "durst refuse the Junto nothing," while pitifully declaring: "The life of a slave in the galleys is a paradise in comparison of mine."

Carte's "Mem.-Book," Vol. XI. p. 27, Macpherson.

No man was better acquainted with the strength of parties and all the intricacies of the game of politics than was the Duke of Marlborough, whose keen devotion to his own interests led him, as usual, to a course of duplicity, of which we get curious evidence in a despatch from de Torcy to Louis XIV., dated the Hague, May 12, 1709. Marlborough had expressed the strongest desire to serve James, whom he called the Prince of Wales, "as the son of a king for whom . . . he would have spilt the last drop of his blood." It must have tried de Torcy's diplomatic composure to the utmost to receive such a statement with an unmoved countenance. Marlborough begged de Torcy to insist strongly upon the payment of the arrears of the Queen's dowry, owing since the peace of Ryswick, and declared that upon leaving France the Prince should be free, in his opinion, to fix his residence wherever he chose, should be his own master, and enjoy perfect security. In these promises Lord Townshend, who had joined Marlborough at the Hague, concurred, and they assured de Torcy that in case James left France it would be just that England should provide for his subsistence.

Macpherson.

This drew an immediate objection from St. Germains:—

> ". . . Their offer to charge themselves with the maintenance of the King, my master, is to be suspected," writes Lord Middleton to the Duc de Beauvilliers; "indeed, one may easily see the malicious design of it is to make the world believe that he renounced his pretensions on account of this pension, and at the same time to have it in their power to reduce him to the last extremity, which His Majesty will rather endure than expose himself to be suspected of such meanness. . . ."

Crown-piece James III 1709.
Jacobite Medal Queen Anne and James III.

The greater the concessions Louis XIV. consented to make, the more the demands of Prince Eugene and Marlborough become extortionate, until the negotiations at the Hague finally broke off, and war was resumed. Intercourse with Marlborough was kept up by the Court of St. Germains through an agent of the name of Berry, frequently referred to in Nairne's entry-book, while Menzies, who figures under the cant name of Abram, was the other chief agent with the English Jacobites. An interesting proof of James's hopes and expectations remains in Roettier's beautiful five-shilling piece, the unique specimen of which is now at the British Museum, bearing James's effigy as King of Scots, and the date 1709. 1709.

The battle of Malplaquet, the most important in which James ever took a leading part, was fought on September 11. He rose from an attack of fever to hasten to the field, disdaining the advice to hide the pale-blue ribbon across his breast, and glad that Marshal Bouffler's orders directed his attack against the German contingent.[1] At the head of 1200 horse he charged no less than twelve times, finally breaking and dispersing the German horse with a valiant intrepidity which won the admiration of both friend and foe; if, indeed, the English soldiers, who all drank his health that night, could be counted among the latter. Like another dispossessed prince, he perhaps did not set his "life at a pin's fee," and might have welcomed the thrust which would have ended it and all its perplexities in a soldier's death. It was his supreme effort; the road to Scotland with all its possibilities lay through victory, and the rebuke of fortune received that day may well have been heart-breaking; carrying with it, for the rest of his long life, a sense of the fatality upon his race as a burden to be ever gallantly borne, never succumbed to, but never overcome.

Bouffler's Despatches, Saint-Simon.

Dangeau's "Journal."

"The King of England" was mentioned in Bouffler's despatches as having behaved "during the whole action

[1] The colour of the ribbon of the Garter was changed from light to the present "Garter" blue by George I., to distinguish his knights from those of James.

1709-10. with the utmost valour," and the battle was lost, says Saint-Simon, "in spite of the efforts and the example of the King of England." To his efforts it was chiefly due that Malplaquet was in reality more of a drawn battle than a victory for the allies, as both armies kept their positions after it, and de Villars was able to write to Louis XIV. that one more such defeat and he would be in the enemy's camp. This did not occur, but the issues of the rest of the campaign were so doubtful, that far from realising the hopes of Marlborough and Eugene of penetrating into French territory, they disposed the allies to lend a more favourable ear to terms of peace. Petekum, resident of Holstein at the Hague, found means to go to Paris at the end of the year to forward that important business, with which the rest of the allies entrusted the Dutch, and negotiations were opened which were to lead to the conference at Gertruydenberg in March 1710.

Meanwhile James remained at the camp of Ruesne until the end of October, writing on the 11th of that month a letter to Mr. Dicconson, the Queen's Comptroller at St. Germains, which shows the stress of poverty which the exiled Court shared with the whole of France, and James's own efforts to meet it:[1]—

Hist. MSS. Commission, Stuart Papers, Windsor, Vol. I. pp. 233-4.

"Although I reckon to be soon with you, yet I cannot differ till then telling you how sensible I am of all the pains you take for the Queen's and my service, and particularly for the help and care you are to her amidst all the misery of St. Germains. . . . I find you are in no hopes of any money at all, but our army beginning to be paid more regularly the rest will, I hope, come in time. If, as I believe, I return this month, I shall not want more than the 4000 *livres* for October, and upon the whole I think my expence this campagne has not been extravagant. Before I went none of you thought I would make it without retrenching or selling, but, thank God, wee have rubbed it out without either by the Queen's help and your care, for which, tho' I can now only thank you by words, I hope the time will come in which I may do it by effects."

An effort was being made in Rome to unite the three

[1] For the first time during his reign Louis XIV. gave no New Year's presents to his family, and the 40,000 pistoles he used to employ for his own, he sent to supply the needs of his troops on the Flemish frontier.—Saint-Simon, January 1710.

colleges of England, Scotland, and Ireland into one; it was strongly opposed by James, who also protested against the difficulties which had been raised about his nominations to two vacant Irish bishoprics, Armagh and Ardagh. He writes to Cardinal Imperiali, protector of Ireland at Rome, that he doubts not he will use his "most effectual offices to hinder any attempt to infringe my right of nominations to the bishoprics of Ireland"; and he looks upon the design to amalgamate the three colleges, "as a change which would be very prejudicial to religion." To Cardinal Sacripanti, protector of Scotland, he writes from St. Germains, January 14, 1710:—

1710.

Hist. MSS. Commission, Stuart Papers, Windsor, Vol. I. p. 235.

"Being informed of the letter of my mother to you in my absence recommending to you the preservation of the Scotch College, I believe I ought to inform you with my own hand how much I have it at heart, knowing from the leading men of that nation, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, that the suppression thereof and its union with the other two nations would be very prejudicial to the Scotch mission. Your zeal in accepting the protection of that kingdom makes me hope you will do everything to hinder the execution of that design."

Ibid. p. 236.

Another grave matter was to engage his attention and his pen before the end of the spring. In 1710, a charge of Jansenism was brought against the English College of Douay. James took up its defence in the following sensible letter to Cardinal Caprara, protector of England:—

"Being lately informed of a charge brought before the Congregation against the English College of Douay of having taught doctrines . . . tending to Jansenism, though I have nothing more at heart than the maintenance of sound doctrine and the purity of the faith, still I should not wish that College, which for more than a century has supplied so many missionaries, several of whom have been honoured with the glory of martyrdom, should be censured on ill-grounded suspicions and without lawful proofs. . . . I therefore wish the matter to be thoroughly examined, that justice may be done either by clearing the innocent, or condemning the guilty. Anyhow, even supposing some one of the masters has gone astray even in this matter of doctrine, it is not reasonable that a whole college should suffer in reputation for one man's fault, since all the superiors and members of the college declare that they are ready to give all the proofs that can be desired of the soundness of their faith, and they eagerly demand that this matter may be thoroughly examined. . . . I therefore beg you to do everything that depends on

Ibid.

1710. you as Protector of England, and that is conformable to the rules of justice to preserve the reputation of the college."

The logical common sense, clearly and temperately expressed in this and the above letters, clears James's reputation from the charge of fanatic and bigot, as his conduct on the field clears it from that of coward. Both the one and the other prove that he as little deserved the accusation of being little better than an idiot, and dispose of the three main features of the portraits various Whig writers have given us of him; while a friendlier pen misrepresents him as so deeply embued with the faults of his race, as to forfeit a chance of the crown for the sake of a pretty woman's smile.[1]

The French delegates to Gertruydenberg were Marshal d'Uxelles and the Abbé de Polignac, a firm friend of the Stuarts, who had done his best to place James II. on the throne of Poland, and to whom James III. had lately given his nomination for a cardinal's hat. The two Dutchmen with whom they were to confer were Buys and Vander-Duffen. The conference opened on the 19th of March.

James was assured of the friendliness of the French delegates, and an interesting attempt was made to secretly gain that of the Dutch. While the delegates were on their way to Gertruydenberg, Lord Middleton wrote to one Regner Leers, a bookseller at Rotterdam, enclosing a memorandum to be privately shown to certain members of the States-General, and enjoining secrecy, as it was sent without the knowledge of the Court of France.

Nairne's "Papers," Macpherson.

Several letters passed between Leers and Lord Middleton; and the suggestion of Avignon or Rome as a retreat for James is received with dismay.

Ibid. D.N., Vol. III. No. 5, Macpherson.

"I entreat you to consider" [writes Lord Middleton, April 3, 1710] "that His Majesty, by removing to so great a distance, would appear to renounce his pretensions. . . . Though Avignon was situated near Ostend, His Majesty would never set his foot in it; because his enemies would contrive to make the general hatred to the Pope fall upon him."

[1] Thackeray, in *Esmond.*

Abbé de Polignac endeavoured to introduce the subject into the conference, but its consideration was put off to the general treaty. 1710.

As Chevalier of St. George James returned to Flanders at the end of May, for his third campaign, taking with him, owing to the scarcity of the times, but a small equipage of five or six persons; while the Queen and the Princess Louise-Marie retired to Chaillot.

From the camp at Arlieu James wrote Lord Middleton a letter dated June 2, 1710, which gives a graphic description of the uncertain state of French military affairs:— Nairne's "Papers," D.N., Vol. III. No. 6, Macpherson.

"At last, thanks to the irresolution of our Generals, I have got a moment to write to you. . . . As for news, you have it from the Queen; so I have little to say of it. We are here, we know not why, knowing we are not well, always disputing and never resolving, just as at [Versailles?].

"One would think our heads were turned; at least Hector [Marshal de Villars, whom James usually calls by this, his Christian name] seems to be near it; for there is neither rhime nor reason in all he does, these three days past. . . . I have a little cousin here, who seems to be a pretty young man. But I find *neips* and *rasades* is the etiquette of the family. My equipage is in great order, and Booth [Groom of the Bedchamber] looks after the accounts mighty well. I find it enough to be out of St. Germains to have one's health; for I don't remember ever to have had it better than it is now. The Queen finds it so too, and I hope you do the same in your hermitage. . . . Hooke is arrived, with a post-horse, and has got a brigade of 600 men. . . . We have several general officers whom you don't know; and, though we have nearly four score, we make shift to want more. Our friend Albergotti [commanding at Douay, then besieged by the allies] doth wonders. Jamnon Agipen [?] says the bombs have cured him of his spleen. Adieu. We are going to dinner, and to go abroad a-gazing to no purpose. If you see Mr. Sheldon [de Torcy] remember me very kindly to him. I hope he is out of his mouldy grubs. For Mr. Dorrington [Louis XIV.] I suppose he out-doth us all in irresolution."

In another letter, dated Arras, July 4, describing a visit from a clumsy impostor, James Ogilvie, he continues:—

"This man is certainly employed by the government to betray my friends; so that when he comes to you . . . one cannot have too great an eye over him, till one can, at least, hear from Scotland, what ground there is for what he affirms. But I refer to the Queen to do, in this matter, what she thinks fit. She has yourself and a few others to consult, and I am here alone, which is far from easy for me, upon many Nairne's "Papers," Vol. III. No. 8, Macpherson.

1710. accounts. But necessity has no law; and that alone could have made me not carry you along with me; tho', at present, I really begin to believe that I shall not be long from you; for the enemie's immobility looks very like a truce. I am sure we want it, for we have no money, bread but hardly, tho' hitherto exactly enough, and our list not above half complete. I shall say nothing of my health . . . but am now at ease, that I am well enough to go to the army if there be appearance of action. My sister is charmed with your complaisance in being her conductor in all her sorties and, by what I can find, she is as well pleased to be at Chaillot, as you are to be out of St. Germains. . . ."

The news of Sacheverell's trial, of the wonderful outburst of Jacobitism accompanying it, of the subsequent addresses to Queen Anne from all parts of the country avowing the very principles for which he had been condemned, and praying her to dissolve the present Parliament, reached James in camp, causing him and his friends great joy. Marshal de Villars "was in clouds and raptures" when he heard that people had put white ribbons in their hats during the trial; and Lord Middleton wrote from St. Germains to a friend at the French Court:

"Since it has pleased God to spread the spirit of confusion amongst the King's enemies," now is the time for another attempt. Apparently at Marlborough's suggestion, Middleton asks for all the Irish troops in the French service, between 3000 and 4000 men, and quotes Marlborough's own words: "The great is not to be hoped for from hence, and the little ought not to be accepted without all his own subjects," *i.e.* the Irish troops. "If it is refused," continues Lord Middleton, "the case is too plain to need an explanation."

Nairne's "Papers," D.N., Vol. III. No. 8, Macpherson.

The demand was formally made in a memorandum sent to de Torcy, dated Chaillot, August 29, 1710, enclosed in a letter from Lord Middleton:—

Ibid. Vol. II. No. 32.

"As to what regards England, it is a matter of indifference to you whether the Parliament be dissolved or not; or whether the high or the low church prevail. You will always find they are your enemies; and I am very sorry, Sir, to tell you, that even our friends will do nothing for you, while you do nothing for them. . . .

"With regard to the Irish troops, I consider it as granted, because it cannot be conjectured from what motive it can be refused. . . ."

While the armies lay in observation of each other on

either side of the Scarpe, there was much friendly intercourse between the officers and men; the English, Scots, and Irish in the French service sending messages to their former friends on the other side; and James's medals, bearing his head and *Cujus est*, with the British Isles and *Reddite* upon the reverse, were eagerly accepted, even asked for, by the English officers. Marshal de Villars's letters to Marlborough, and his answers, were full of kind allusions to Queen Mary of Modena and her children, and the Queen's letters to the English commander, her son's medals to his officers, were carried by de Villars's trumpets. Indeed it may be said that the balance never hung so tremblingly even between Stuart and Hanover as at this time; when James, riding on the river-bank, approaching nearer and nearer, was ever the object of the close scrutiny of the groups of English officers on the other side, who more than once sent him a polite message to come nearer; a request instantly conceded, with that unconsciousness of personal danger that characterised his race. A sign from Marlborough, some act of happy audacity on the part of the Prince, such as his uncle Charles II. or his own future son might have conceived and executed, and the scale holding the Hanover succession would have kicked the beam. But Marlborough refrained, and James, with all his fine qualities was not one 1710.

> "Who grasps the skirts of happy chance,
> And breasts the blows of circumstance,
> And grapples with his evil star."

James returned to St. Germains in September, where the news of the election of a Tory Parliament raised the hopes of his Court almost to the enthusiasm of certainty.

Queen Anne had freed herself from the thraldom of the imperious Duchess of Marlborough; Godolphin had been dismissed, expressing his concern at having been turned out before he had restored the King, complaining that all his Ministry had been spent in a struggle with the Junto, whose hands the Tories had forced him into, and express- Carte's "Mem.-Book," Vol. IX. p. 38.

1710-11. ing his belief that Lord Oxford would restore him with the help of France, whereas he would have restored him alone, "and made the French know how poorly they had treated him, and how little they deserved at his hands." The Duke of Shrewsbury had succeeded the Marquis of Kent as Lord Chamberlain, and Earl Powlett was made First Commissioner of the Treasury, while Harley, raised in 1711 to the peerage as Earl of Oxford, and Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, "had the chief management of the Treasury, and presided in everything behind the curtain." The Duchess of Marlborough was succeeded by Mrs. Masham as friend and confidante of Queen Anne, and Mrs. Masham, as every one knew, was the firm friend and ally of her cousin Lord Oxford, obeying his inspiration in all things.

Macpherson.

Before the end of the year Harley approached the Duke of Berwick by sending to him the Abbé Gaultier, who was acting as French agent in London during the preliminary negotiations for peace. Gaultier was to concert with the Duke on the affairs of King James and on the means of procuring his restoration; but Harley laid down three preliminary conditions, viz. that no one at St. Germains, not even the Queen, should have cognisance of the matter, that Queen Anne should retain the crown for her lifetime, and that sufficient assurances should be given for the preservation of the Anglican Church and the liberties of the people. The conclusion of peace must precede any further step, or the Ministry would not venture upon so delicate a matter. "Although," writes the Duke of Berwick, "we could not see how the one could interfere with the other . . . we wrote to all the Jacobites to join the Court party, which helped to make the Queen so strong in the House of Commons, that everything passed there according to her desires." Harley also suggested that James should join the Duke of Berwick who was going to command the French forces in Dauphiny, so as to be on the spot when he, Harley, sent his project to the Duke. He thus obtained two important results—the strengthening of his party in the House of Commons, and

"Memoirs" of the Duke of Berwick.

the removal of James to a greater distance from England, —and the promised project was never sent. 1711.

The French political party represented by Renaudot continued meanwhile to urge Louis XIV. to save himself and ensure peace by the often-suggested diversion in Scotland. "If he [James] can bring 10,000 men, he will meet with no resistance; if he brings 5000, his chance will still be good, but not so certain." Renaudot "Papers," Bib. Nat.

Neither 10,000 nor 5000 men was Louis XIV. in a position to detach for the purpose; and even the modest request for the 3000 Irish troops, whom James could reasonably claim as his own subjects, had failed to obtain a favourable response, confirming the Court of St. Germains in its doubts of the sincerity of the friendship of France.

James's correspondence with Scotland continued in its former tone of hopefulness, and on March 2, 1711, we come for the first time upon a letter addressed to Lord Balmerino, who thirty-five years later was to lay down his head on Tower Hill in defence of the Stuart cause:—

> "The friendship you have always shown me hath been so true and unalterable, and your merit so universally distinguished, that I have no words at present to express my gratitude towards you, but hope when I dine with you at Leith, or whenever it may best happen, to give you essential proofs how great a value I have for you. . . . Your own prudence and firmness can best suggest to you the ways and means for effecting your good intentions. . . ." Nairne's "Papers," Vol. IX. p. 17, Macpherson.

Leslie, the famous non-juror clergyman, arrived at St. Germains, under the name of Lamb, in the month of April, with a lengthy memorial, a translation of which was presented to the French Court. It set forth that since the Revolution there had not been so great a confusion of counsels and measures as in England since the last change of Ministry. The Presbyterians of Scotland were irritated to such a degree that they would concur in whatever might deliver them from the Union with England, and were convinced that nothing could deliver them but the return of their Sovereign. There was not a man in England who was not equally convinced that if the King had landed the last time in Scotland he would infallibly have *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. no. 37.

1711. succeeded. The Scots have returned to Parliament the very men who had been brought prisoners to London on account of the invasion, "and those men have not changed their sentiments."

After describing the run upon the Bank of England on the arrival of the news of James's departure from Dunkerque, and that the tidings of his return to France had alone prevented the Bank "from being shut up":—

> "It is generally thought, that the Princess of Denmark is favourably disposed towards the King, her brother; and that she would choose rather to have him for her successor, than the Prince of Hanover. But she is timid, and does not know to whom she can give her confidence. . . .
>
> "There are a set of men, well disposed, who have taken the oaths to the Government only by form, and from interest, and whom General Stanhope, in Sacheverell's trial calls the non-juror swearers. These are very numerous in the two kingdoms. There is not a High Churchman in England that is not suspected by the Government. . . .
>
> "Malicious and injurious expressions against the King are no longer used, even by the Whigs, who dare not now express themselves as they did formerly. They acknowledged his birth at Sacheverell's trial, in order to destroy hereditary right, and to convince the Princess of Denmark that she has no other title to the Crown, but the Settlement which has been made . . . since the Revolution. . . .
>
> "I do not intend to conceal anything. The only objection against the King is his religion; but that is not imputed to him as a fault, but as his misfortune and ours; and the people would endure him much more willingly, if they did not believe him a bigot . . . and this is the idea his enemies endeavour to give of him as much as they can."

To clear himself from this charge the King's friends hope he will, so far as his conscience allows—"and God forbid that more should be demanded of him"—lend an ear to whatever can be said to him "with respect and submission" in favour of the religion of his kingdoms. But whatever may be the issue "that will not diminish our loyalty and our entire submission to him. . . ."

James II., and Queen Mary of Modena during her regency, had in vain tried to obtain permission for their Protestant followers at St. Germains to have religious services of their own; and Leslie remarks that if his Most Christian Majesty would permit it, "in the most secret manner that could possibly be, that would do more

service than 10,000 men . . . and would go half-way to his [James's] restoration." The necessity of bringing over the Irish troops, "who speak the same language as the Highlanders," is insisted upon: 1711.

"but above all to bring the Duke of Berwick along with him; for he is feared and loved, and his presence will prevent all the disputes which may arise among the nobility of Scotland for the command of the army, for they will all submit to him, and they all desire that he may come. . . .

"If the Princess of Denmark, who is very infirm, dies, and if the Prince of Hanover is once in possession, he will bring along with him his German troops, who, in virtue of the last Act of Parliament, will be naturalised the moment they arrive; and he will humble and ruin all the King's friends, and render, by these means, his cause desperate. . . ."

Before leaving St. Germains to join the Duke of Berwick in Dauphiny, James wrote the following letter to Queen Anne, which, after some hesitation, the French Court sent to Abbé Gaultier to be given to the Queen through Mrs. Masham, who had offered to convey it:—

"MADAM—The violence and ambition of the enemies of our family, and of the monarchy, have too long kept at a distance those who, by all the obligations of nature and duty, ought to be more firmly united; and have hindered us from the proper means and endeavours of a better understanding between us, which could not fail to produce the most happy effects to ourselves, to our family, and to our bleeding country.[1] Nairne's "Papers," Vol. II. f. 38.

"But whatever the success may be, I have resolved now to break through all reserve, and to be the first in an endeavour so just and necessary. The natural affection I bear you, and that the King our father had for you, till his last breath; the consideration of our mutual interest, honour, and safety, and the duty I owe to God and my country, are the true motives that persuade me to write to you, and to do all that is possible for me to come to a perfect union with you.

"And you may be assured, Madam, that tho' I can never abandon, but with my life, my own just right, . . . yet I am most desirous rather to owe to you, than to any living, the recovery of it. It is for yourself that a work so just and glorious is reserved. The voice of God and nature calls you to it; the promises you made the King our father enjoin it; the preservation of our family, the preventing of unnatural wars require it; and the public good and welfare of our country recommend it to you. . . .

[1] Between the years 1700 and 1710, the population of England decreased by 68,000 souls—from 5,134,000 to 5,066,000 (Lord Mahon's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 25).

1711. "I am satisfied, Madam, that, if you will be guided by your own inclinations, you will readily comply with so just and fair a proposal as to prefer your own brother, the last male of our name, to the Duchess of Hannover, the remotest relation we have, whose friendship you have no reason to rely on, or be fond of. . . .

"I am ready to give all the security that can be desired; that it is my unalterable resolution to make the law of the land the rule of my government, to preserve every man's right, liberty, and property, equally with the rights of the crown; and to secure and maintain those of the Church of England, in all their just rights and privileges, as by law established; and to give such a toleration to Dissenters as the Parliament shall think fit.

"Your own good nature, Madam, and your natural affection to a brother, from whom you never received any injury, cannot but incline your heart to do him justice. . . . And I do here assure you, that, in that case, no reasonable terms of accommodation, which you can desire for yourself, shall be refused by me. But as affairs of this moment cannot be so well transacted by letters, I must conjure you to send one over to me, fully instructed and empowered by you . . . for by that way only, things can be adjusted to our mutual satisfaction. . . .

"I have made this first step towards our mutual happiness, with a true brotherly affection, with the plainness and sincerity that becomes both our rank and relation, and in the most prudent manner I could at present contrive; and will be directed by you in the prosecution of it, relying entirely on your knowledge and experience, as to means and instruments.

"And now, Madam, as you tender your own honour and happiness, the preservation and re-establishment of our ancient royal family, the safety and welfare of a brave people, who are almost sinking under present weights, and have reason to fear greater; who have no reason to complain of me, and whom I must still, and do love as my own, I conjure you to meet me in this friendly way of composing our differences, by which only we can hope for those good effects which will make us both happy; yourself more glorious than all the other parts of your life, and your memory dear to all posterity."

Queen Anne made no answer to this letter, unless the despatch of Lord Rivers to Hanover to assure the Elector that the succession of his family would be secured in the coming treaty of peace, can be considered as such. Anne's timidity, increased by her many infirmities, her loneliness—Prince George of Denmark died in 1708, and of her eighteen children, not one survived—her habit, if the Hanoverian envoys at her Court are to be believed, of keeping off the gout by long and deep potations, and chiefly, the one trait she shared with Queen Elizabeth,

a strong aversion to facing the question of succession, all combined to keep her in a state of nervous suspense and indecision, which both parties interpreted according to their desires.[1] 1711.

James also wrote, May 2, 1711, a letter to his friends in England, which, with the one to the Queen, proves him worthy of Macpherson's encomium that he was "a better, more easy, and perhaps a more elegant writer than any of his servants"; or, we may add, than any of Queen Anne's, with the exception of St. John, lately appointed Secretary of State.

Nairne's "Papers," D.N., Vol. III. No. 27, Macpherson.

"In answer to yours, I cannot at this distance, and in my present circumstances, enter into disputes of religion; but those of the Church of England have no reason to doubt of my favour and protection, after the early assurances I gave them in my instructions, bearing date 3rd March 1702, which you have seen, and I am resolved to hold good. . . . Experience fully sheweth, that the Crown was never struck at but she [the Church] also felt the blow; and though some of her chief professors have failed in their duty, we must not measure the principles of a Church by the actions of some particulars.

"Plain dealing is best in all things, especially in matters of religion; and, as I am resolved never to dissemble . . . so I shall never tempt others to do it; and as well as I am satisfied of the truth of my own religion, yet I shall never look worse upon any persons, because in that they choose to differ with me; nor shall I refuse, in due time and place, to hear what they may have to say upon this subject. But they must not take it ill if I use the same liberty I allow to others, to adhere to the religion which I, in my conscience, think the best; and I may reasonably expect that liberty of conscience for myself, which I deny to none."

Brit. Mus. Gualterio "Papers," Add. MSS. 31,267.

James left St. Germains on the 16th of June for Alsace, with a double purpose of travel and military service, as he would visit the French forces on the Rhine, and the upper parts of the river, before going to Lyons, on his way to join the Duke of Berwick's army in Dauphiny. The plan comprised a return by Provence, Languedoc, and Gascony to Brittany and Normandy. He took Lord Middleton with him, in view of the project of restoration which Harley, Earl of Oxford and Lord Treasurer, had fallaciously promised to send to the Duke of Berwick.

[1] "It being a thing *I cannot* bear to have any successor here, though but for a week."—*Letter from Queen Anne to the Duchess of Marlborough*, 1705.

1711. The English Ministry deprecated the Normandy and Brittany part of the plan, and sent squadrons to cruise before Dunkerque and Brest; the French agents in London meanwhile sending news that the mere rumour of James's departure had caused the bank rate, and the East Indian and other Companies' shares, to fall considerably, while the embarkation of the troops in Scotland for Flanders had been stopped.

While James was on his travels, writing cheerful, observant letters to his mother and sister at Chaillot, and sending the finest piece of brocade he could find at Lyons to make a skirt for the young Princess, Scotland was making open profession of its loyalty. The Duchess of Gordon sent, on July 30, one of James's medals, with *Cujus est* and *Reddite*, to the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh. Of the seventy-five advocates present, only twelve voted against its acceptance, and the Minutes of the Meeting were immediately published in London. After Mr. Robert Bennet, the Dean of the Faculty, had proposed that the medal be accepted and thanks returned to the Duchess of Gordon, and Mr. Alexander Stevenson, Mr. Robert Alexander of Black House, and Mr. Duncan Forbes, with one or two more, had, in more or less vehement terms, demanded that it should be rejected, Mr. Dundas of Arniston rose and made the following speech:—

Brit. Mus. 601, e. 15.

> "Dean of Faculty. Whatever these Gentlemen may say of their loyalty, I think they affront the Queen, whom they pretend to honour, in disgracing her Brother, who is not only a Prince of the Blood, but the first thereof; and if blood can give any right, he is our undoubted sovereign. . . . Medals are the documents of History . . . and therefore, tho' I should give King William's stamp with the Devil at his right Ear, I see not how it could be refused, seeing 100 years hence it would prove that such a coin had been in England.[1] But, Dean of Faculty, what needs further speeches? None oppose receiving the Medal . . . but a few pitiful scoundrel Vermin and Mushrooms, not worthy our notice. Let us therefore proceed to name some of our Number, to return our hearty Thanks to the Dutchess of Gordon. . . ."

[1] Another speaker describes these coins as "Copper half-pence that was stamp'd by a notorious villain."

Dundas himself and Mr. Horn of Westhall were deputed to carry the Faculty's thanks to the Duchess of Gordon— 1711.

> ". . . for the honour you did us in presenting us with a Medal of our Sovereign Lord the King. . . . I hope and am confident, so do my Constituents, that Your Grace shall very soon . . . compliment the Faculty with a Second Medal struck upon the Restoration of the King and Royal Family, and the finishing Rebellion, usurping Tyranny and Whiggery."

It is significant of the time that no notice was taken of these proceedings by the Government, until complaints were received from Hanover on the subject. Sir David Dalrymple, the Lord Advocate, was thereupon dismissed from office for his remissness in prosecuting the delinquents. The occasion called forth a ballad, printed at Oxford, entitled

> "A Welcome to the Medal or an excellent New Song, call'd The Constitution Restored in 1711. To the Tune of Mortimer's Hole."
>
> "Let's joy in the Medal with James III.'s *Face*
> And the *Advocates* that Pleaded for him;
> Tho' the Nation Renounces the *Popish Race*
> *Great* Lewis of *France* will restore him.
>
> . . . . .
>
> "Let *Schismaticks* Pine, let *Republicans* Wine
> And henceforth abandon these Nations,
> With *Lewis* rejoyce, and cry with one Voice
> Obedience without Limitations.
>
> . . . . .
>
> "Let the Whigs that love Trade, the *South Seas* invade,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "They shall have for Director, their *German Elector*
> Who certainly will not Play Booty,
> *He's too much in the Stock*, the Project to Shock.
> Good Princess Sophia, Adieu t'ye.
>
> "Oxford, at the Theatre, M.DCCXI."

Another incident, laughable in itself, but significant of the state of feeling in London, occurred before the end of the year. A party of Whigs had prepared an elaborate mock-procession for Queen Elizabeth's birthday,

1711. November 17. The previous midnight the Jacobites abstracted the figures of the Pope, the Chevalier of St. George, fourteen cardinals, and as many devils from the house in Drury Lane where they were stored, and carried them to the Cockpit, where they exhibited them *gratis* to all comers. The disappointed organisers of the procession thereupon published a long and detailed description of what it would have been, but for this violent frustration of their intentions. It forms a pamphlet, of which translations into German and French were published at Amsterdam the following year.[1] It is interesting as an example not only of party prejudice and fanaticism, but as showing how James II.'s mistakes during his short reign weighed upon the prospects of his son. After describing the heralds, and watchmen, and torch-bearers, marching four a-breast, the brass bands playing "Lillibullero" and the "Greenwood Tree," pages and buffoons carrying rosaries, papal bulls and indulgences, and sprinkling holy water, livery men with banners inscribed *Nolumus leges Angliæ Mutare* (under which legend Compton, Bishop of London, had marched into Oxford in 1688), the pamphlet goes on to tell of the beadles carrying "Protestant flails," and surrounding the portraits of the seven Bishops sent to the Tower by James II., the representatives of the dispossessed fellows of Magdalen College and of the Ecclesiastical Commission appointed by him; while twelve heralds bore aloft copies of the "Act of Indulgence." Fat monks with the device "Eat and pray"; Jesuits with blood-stained daggers, and a *fleur-de-lys* stamped on their shoulder with the word "ineffaceable," were to precede the figure of the Pope under a magnificent canopy, with the Chevalier of St. George on his left, "and his Counsellor the Devil" on his right. Twenty standard-bearers were to close the procession with banners inscribed—

> "God bless Queen Anne, the Nation's great Defender,
> Keep out the French, the Pope, and the Pretender."

[1] An Italian translation is among the Gualterio papers in the British Museum.—Add. MS. 20,311, f. 151.

Its itinerary was to have been the following:—Drury Lane, Long Acre, Gerrard Street, Piccadilly, Germain Street (*sic*), St. James's Square, Pall Mall, Strand, Catherine Street, Russell Street, Drury Lane, Great Queen Street, Little Queen Street, Holborn, Newgate Street, Cornhill, Bishopsgate Street, St. Paul's Churchyard, and Fleet Street. Queen Elizabeth's statue at the Temple would have been covered with a veil bearing Queen Anne's portrait, with the names of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and the recent passage of the lines in 1711. It is interesting to note that the organisers of this procession, intended for the delectation of a more educated section of the citizens of London than would be the case nowadays, did not place Malplaquet among Queen Anne's victories. The proceedings were to end with the precipitation of the Chevalier of St. George into a huge bonfire after receiving absolution from Cardinal Gualterio, Protector of England, who in his turn was to be absolved by the Pope and cast into the flames, and finally the devil was to spring into the fire with the Pope in his arms. "And all the people would say Amen." 1711.

It shows the keen interest taken in London in all that concerned the legitimate King that Cardinal Gualterio is here displayed as Protector of England, although he did not actually become so for some considerable time. James had nominated him immediately upon the death of Cardinal Caprara, the former Protector, in July 1711, but Clement XI. demurred greatly in giving his assent to the appointment. Like his predecessors, he was doubtful of the advantage to the Stuarts of the preponderating influence of France; and Cardinal Gualterio, possessed of the rich benefice of St. Remy at Rheims, displaying the French arms over his palace door in Rome, did not appear the best protector of the English Catholics at a time when hostility was still so great between the two countries. The Pope would have preferred a more neutral appointment, but James's insistence upon not receding from a solemn engagement, and his entreaties that His Holiness might find it good that he adhered to it, at last

1711-12. prevailed; but the appointment was not ratified until some years later.

James returned to St. Germains in the month of October; Gaultier and Mesnager, the French secret agents in London, and Matthew Prior, the secret agent of England at Versailles, had negotiated the preliminaries of peace with so much apparent recognition of James's claim to succeed Queen Anne, that Lord Middleton, in answer to a letter from one of his agents, Tunstall, stating that the Duke of Marlborough had solemnly sworn that in his opinion the recall of the Prince was certain, could treat Marlborough as the post-boy "who brings good news to which he has not contributed." So well assured was the French Court of James's prospects that the last visit made to St. Germains by the Dauphin, before his untimely death (February 1712), was to congratulate Queen Mary Beatrice and her son upon the happy turn of affairs.

CHAPTER V

SWIFT, in his newly-begun journal to Stella, describes the coming winter of 1711-12 as "a strange winter here, between the struggles of a cunning, provoked, discarded party and the triumphs of one in power"; and he considers Marlborough's abrupt deprivation of all his offices (December 30, 1711) and the creation of twelve Tory Peers as the boldest steps he ever remembers "taken by a Court; I am almost shocked at it, though I did not care if they were all hanged." 1711-12.

Lord Oxford, however indolent he might be by nature, had none of the timidity of his predecessor Godolphin, and he did not hesitate to strike when the strange scheme hatching between Marlborough, Baron Bothmar, the Hanoverian Ambassador in England, and Prince Eugene, lately arrived in London, became known to him. The project was nothing less than to overthrow the present Government, prevent the conclusion of peace, bring over the Electoral Prince of Hanover, without waiting for Queen Anne's death; even, so said rumour, to "de Witte" Oxford himself and Bolingbroke in a Mohock riot, and to seize the Queen. Prince Eugene's own letters to Count Zinzendorf corroborate the minute accounts in de Torcy's *Memoirs*, and we find much incidental confirmation in the correspondence of the time, of what may be looked upon as Marlborough's culminating act of duplicity against his sovereign, and a curious revival of his treacherous conduct twenty-five years before towards that sovereign's father. It also furnishes a striking commentary to his reiterated assurances to James III.[1]

[1] Some two years previously Lord Somers, in reply to Queen Anne's desire to have his opinion of the Duke of Marlborough, described him as "the worst

1711-12. Deprived, under the Broad Seal, of his command as Captain-General of the Forces, Marlborough, "who was not made for hazards," gave up the plan (which the Ministry had discovered) of assembling 2000 or 3000 troops in different squares of Westminster to seize St. James's. He contented himself with wearing black on Queen Anne's birthday; while his daughters, to show their contempt of the Court, drove in Pall Mall and showed themselves at a window in St. James's "in the worst mob-dress they could put themselves." Prince Eugene received a diamond-hilted sword worth £6000; and the Mohocks, who infested the streets slitting noses and maiming passengers, were taken up in large numbers and committed to prison. One of Middleton's correspondents sent him, in March 1712, "a printed list of those of that party now in prison."

Nairne's "Papers," Vol. IV. No. 3.

Oxford's bold step averted immediate danger, but Swift's prevision of a fierce struggle between Whigs and Tories was fulfilled. The sovereignty created by William of Orange, "born in bitterness and nurtured in convulsion," was served even now by Ministers who, with few exceptions, were in a continued habit of conduct which would nowadays be looked upon as infamous—holding out hopes to St. Germains in the same breath that they assured the Elector of Hanover of their undying fidelity, denouncing each other, as Marlborough had denounced Harley, in 1710, of intending to bring in the Pretender, and both parties divided into ever-warring sections; although the greater cohesion among the Whigs was aptly figured in Swift's simile of "the faggot." The streams of ink which fed the flames of party strife, rendered daily fiercer by the visible deterioration of the Queen's health, flowed, let it be remembered, from no meaner pens than those of Defoe, Swift, Addison, and Matthew Prior, to name only the greatest of the men-of-letters who furnished

man God ever made," his ambition boundless and his avarice insatiable, and with neither honour nor conscience to restrain him from any wicked attempt, even against her person, as well as against his country.—Carte's *Mem.-Book*, vol. viii., Macpherson.

the polemical writings of the time. In such hands as theirs, no argument, good, bad, or indifferent, but was sure to be presented with all the force, all the insinuating charm and subtlety, or all the denunciatory power which masterly treatment of the English language could command. 1712.

Bolingbroke, who, upon coming into office in 1711, had written to the Hanoverian secretary Robethon that it was "impossible to be more devoted to the Elector's service and to that of his illustrious house" than he was; and that if he were capable of changing those sentiments he would believe himself "unworthy of the character of a good Protestant, a good Englishman, or faithful servant of the Queen" his mistress, was in 1712 treating with Mesnager, the secret envoy of Louis XIV., to get behind the terms of the forthcoming treaty of Utrecht, while ostensibly insisting upon the removal of James from France. This, Mesnager proposed, should be done by a secret article made by Queen Anne "to disengage" Louis XIV. from all the obligations of the recognition of the Hanoverian succession, and a declaration "from Her Majesty that all the engagements the King should enter into in the treaty of peace, should be so understood by the Queen." Bolingbroke feared the Queen would not sign such a declaration, but he thought she would declare, by word of mouth, "that she would be satisfied to understand the treaty in such a way."

Hanover "Papers," Misc. d'État, 2, No. 195, Macpherson.

"Minutes" of Mesnager's Negotiation, Macpherson.

With Queen Anne's consent, Bolingbroke introduced Mesnager to Mrs. Masham, that he might learn the Queen's intentions from that lady. Two points were agreed upon between them:—

"1. For the satisfaction of the people at home, and the Allies abroad, the King should be required, in the Queen's name, to abandon her brother and his interest, on pretence of adhering to the succession as now established.

"2. Nevertheless, this seeming to abandon the said interest, was to be so understood, that the King should not be obliged, in case of Her Majesty's decease, not to use his endeavours for placing the said Prince on his father's throne, to which he had an undoubted right."

Mrs. Masham further told the envoy—

1712. "that it was the present unhappiness of the Queen to possess the throne of her brother, to which she had no other claim than what the political measures of the State had made legal, and in a sort necessary; which, however, she [Mrs. Masham] believed, gave Her Majesty oftentimes secret uneasiness: that this was not all the misfortune, but that, by the same necessity of State, she was obliged, not only against her disposition, but even against her principles, to further and promote the continuance of the usurpation, not only beyond her own life, but for ever. . . . It would be an inexpressible satisfaction to Her Majesty, to see herself delivered from the fatal necessity of doing so much wrong."

After expressing Queen Anne's wish that her brother might, if possible, be restored to the crown, "at least after her decease," and enlarging upon "the rage and irreconcilable aversion of the greatest part of the common people" to him, the Queen found it would be impossible to enter upon any treaty of peace "without entering into the strongest engagement possible for conferring the succession of Hanover; . . . a thing that, I am sure, is all our aversions."

After expressing a pious hope that his most Christian Majesty would so order things in the treaty as to be at liberty to support and assist in the work, whenever an opportunity should present itself, the interview ended with a promise that the English plenipotentiaries "should be instructed not to insist upon things more than necessity obliged; and some reserves, sure, says she, may be made, to leave room for justice to take place in time to come."

When Mesnager, who was one of the French plenipotentiaries, reached Utrecht, he found that no such secret instruction had been received by the English Ministers there; and he afterwards discovered that the agents of the Court of St. Germains had entered into a private negotiation with the English Court, receiving a vague promise that a certain person should be sent over to Utrecht "who should discourse by word of mouth freely, and should settle that affair as should be agreeable to all parties."

By the 12th of March, Mrs. Masham had become Lady Masham, and had also quarrelled with Lord Oxford. She writes on that date to Mesnager from St. James's:—

Macpherson, p. 310.

"I take it for granted that they [the Court of St. Germains] are fallen into the hands of My Lord Treasurer; he loves a secret, and is famous for making intricacies; and no less renowned for causing everything of such a nature to miscarry. If their assurances are from him, I doubt not, he values himself upon having deceived them; and if the person to be sent to Utrecht comes from him, I dare promise you, that when he comes there, he wants his instructions." 1712.

The agent sent to London from St. Germains was Menzies, accused by Mesnager of ruining and exposing the business he was entrusted with. His reports, and those of the other Jacobites in London, were more favourable than circumstances warranted, as is pointed out in a letter from Nairne to Menzies, March 17, 1712. The King's affairs may be going well, but there are no appearances of it, since neither Queen Anne nor Lord Oxford have trusted him "with one word of comfort." Meanwhile renewed orders were sent to the Jacobites in Parliament to vote with the Court. "A thing mighty well taken," and which was precisely what Oxford desired. James wrote again to Queen Anne, addressing her as "dear Sister," and it is probable that the interesting medal bearing the Queen and "Anna Augusta" on the obverse, and James and "Cujus Est" on the reverse, was struck about this time.

Nairne's "Papers," D.N., Vol. III. No. 26, Macpherson.

Some of the Jacobite correspondents praise Lord Oxford as likely "to be for the King's coming first to England, rather than to Scotland, when all is disposed for that"; others severely blame him as a Whig and an enemy. He cramps all, and makes each man afraid to appear inclined to the interest of James. "All the well-inclined are enraged at Harley's proceedings, and that part of the Commons they call the October-Club of forty." He is accused of screening Queen Anne, "that not any of the first nobility can get an audience, but with the utmost difficulty. . . . The best part of the gentry and half the nobility are resolved to have the King; the Parliament would do it in a year, if it could be believed he had changed his religion. They would not impose it, but would have it reported, to give them a handle. . . ."

1712. Prince Eugene's ostensible errand to England had been to prevent the conclusion of peace, the proposed terms of which were also displeasing to the Elector of Hanover, as set forth in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham. The Emperor Joseph had died the previous April, and his brother, the Archduke Charles, had succeeded him as Charles VI. Ignoring the patent fact that the principle of the "balance of power" in Europe, would never again admit of the union of Austria and Spain under one Crown, any more than that of France and Spain, Charles VI. insisted upon his claim to the Spanish throne, and naturally deprecated a treaty of peace which would deprive him of it.

Nairne's "Papers," D.N., Vol. IV. Macpherson.

There is a graphic description of the dissensions in England in a letter from Prince Eugene (probably to Count Zinzendorf):—Bothmar wishes to bring in the Prince of Hanover, as the Dutch had sent the Prince of Orange, to deliver the nation and save the common cause; the Treasurer is hated by both parties, and no one will regret him; the measures of the Ministry sufficiently show that they were not hearty in the cause from the beginning; the most discerning see very well that everything tends to a separate peace [between England and France], to pave the way more easily for Queen Anne's brother. "I told them," concludes the Prince, "that appeared very probable . . . that we were foolishly employed in building the Tower of Babel, for there are not three among you, or us, of the same sentiment. . . ."

The ambiguous answers of the English Court made it advisable for James to take measures for leaving France. A paper, drawn up in his own hand, was handed to M. de Torcy, entitled, "Articles necessary to be explained before I can leave France," which included questions as to his maintenance, the treatment he would receive, and what security he would have in the place to which he would have to go. If a Protestant country is insisted on, what guarantee will there be for himself and his servants for the free exercise of their religion? He also asks what objection there can be to Cologne, Liège, Flanders, or Lorraine:—

Ibid. Vol. III. No. 26.

"Having a security only in the place where I am to reside, can I leave it, since otherwise I shall be a prisoner in that country, and cannot reckon myself free. . . . For what purpose is all this demanded of me? How long is it to continue, and what advantage shall arise from it for me? . . . Lastly and principally, how shall a correspondence be settled with me . . . and what measures shall be taken, in case of my sister's death, to secure to me what, according to all the laws which have been made, must then belong to Hanover?" 1712.

The last questions on this paper show that its writer did not realise the full consequences of the treaty to himself. Some of his friends, notably Cardinal Gualterio, were more clear-sighted, and in a letter to Queen Mary of Modena, dated Rome, March 5, 1712, the Cardinal speaks of Sicily—which Philip V. was to renounce, in order to obtain Austria's renunciation to the Crown of Spain—as a possible kingdom for her son until the coming of better times. He hears from many sides that it may be allotted to the King of England, and is infinitely pleased, "for though the kingdom is small, it is a good and a beautiful one." Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,297, f. 59.

Shortly after the arrival of this letter, the last male of the Stuarts seemed likely to need no larger kingdom than six feet of earth. On April 3 he sickened with small-pox, and became at once dangerously ill, his sister, Princess Louise-Marie, catching the dread disease eight days later. The tenderest affection, knit all the more closely by the bonds of misfortune, had always united the brother and sister to each other and to the Queen, their mother. When, in the previous October, the faithful Duc de Lauzun had sent Mary of Modena a note informing her that the preliminaries for a treaty of peace had been agreed to, the young Princess broke into bitter weeping, knowing that separation from her brother would be its consequence. The sorrow of living without him was spared her, and after a week's illness she died, April 18, in the twenty-first year of her age, leaving the Queen, her mother, in Madame de Maintenon's words, "a model of desolation." Some days elapsed before it was considered safe to tell James of his sister's death, and it was not until May 19 that the Queen could write to the Superior of Chaillot, that God had left

1712. her one of her children in taking the other. "I cannot doubt but He did what was best for them both, . . . but alas! . . . I do not act as I speak. . . . Pray for the living and for the dead."

Chaillot "Journal." The hand of death had fallen even more heavily on the house of France, and Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon mingled their tears with those of the exiled Queen, as they spoke of how they, the old, were left, and death had taken the young—the Dauphin, the Dauphiness, and the Princess of England.

As James II. had sent his protest to the Congress of Ryswick, so did his son send a solemn protestation in Latin to the chief Ministers assembled at Utrecht, asserting his undoubted right to the Crown of England:—

> "Nor, indeed, are we only moved with the condition of our own Affairs; but being incapable of changing of our Affection towards our Subjects, we cannot without the most sensible Grief behold that neither their Blood nor their Wealth has been hitherto spared to support the great Injustice that has been done to us, and that they are at last reduced so far, that if a Peace be made exclusive of us, they must necessarily become a prey to Foreigners, and at last be subject to their Empire. . . . Therefore, we solemnly . . . protest against all that may be agreed or stipulated in prejudice to us, as being void by all the Laws in the World, for want of Lawful Authority. . . . Given at St. Germains, April 25, 1712, in the eleventh year of our reign.—J. R."

This protest, which must have been drawn up before James's illness, and the date filled in later, was received by the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht (where the Congress had opened on January 12) at the end of the month. The English representatives were the Earl of Strafford and Robinson, Bishop of Bristol. The only benefit received by the house of Stuart was the granting of her dowry of £50,000 a year to Queen Mary of Modena, as the treaty of Ryswick had granted it fifteen years before; and as William of Orange had diverted the Parliamentary grants of the money, from the Queen to his own pocket in 1697, so now the English Government was to repudiate the obligation it had accepted in the treaty of Utrecht.

Meanwhile the Duke of Hamilton, who had finally renounced his own pretensions to the Crown of Scotland,

was showing himself worthy of the confidence Queen Mary of Modena had always had in him. He furthered the Stuart cause to the utmost of his power, and in a cyphered letter of June 19 he tells James that the embassy of Vienna has been much pressed upon him, but he has engaged himself to nothing until he knows the King's sentiments upon it, and will do what he thinks fit. "The present situation of affairs gives more hopes than any particular man can tell you. . . ."

1712.

Nairne's "Papers," D.N., Vol. IV. 22, Macpherson.

Another important friend was also active,—John, third Earl of Mulgrave, created Marquis of Normanby by William III., and Duke of Normanby and Buckinghamshire by Queen Anne soon after her accession. There had been love passages between him and Princess Anne in the days of their youth, and though these had been checked as soon as discovered by his banishment from Court, Anne always retained a great regard for him.[1] He was now also indirectly allied to her and to James III. by his marriage, as his third wife, with Lady Catherine Darnley, the natural daughter of James II. by Catherine Sedley, Countess of Dorchester. The most interesting of his letters to Lord Middleton, under the cant names of Mr. Matthews to Mr. Watson, is dated $\frac{1}{12}$ July, 1712, and relates a long conversation with Queen Anne, who figures as the writer's "brother." He has urged James's claims, receiving the often-quoted answer: "You see he does not make the least step to oblige me. I have no reason to think he values me or my estate"; and to the Duke's further pressure, the hasty: "What wouldst thou have me do, Jack? You know, as the law stands, a Papist cannot inherit; and, should I alter my Will, it would be to no purpose; . . . and, therefore, I had better do that with a good grace that I cannot help." Buckinghamshire replies that the lawyers never suffered an Act to be made without a loophole to creep out at, and he believed it was so in this case. He further reminds her that the Elector of Hanover (who figures as "Dick") "hath not the reputation of being

Ibid. No. 76.

[1] "Earl of Mulgrave banished the Court for making love to Princess Anne, 1683."—Lord Fountainhall's *Notes on Scottish Affairs.*

1712. the best husband in the world . . . this doth not so much commend your settlement, since it is plain you have no certainty that Dick's children are his own." This made him [Queen Anne] very uneasy, and he said: "you must not believe all that is reported upon that subject. However, be that as it may, I do not see how I can undo what I myself have done, and done in such a manner." She concludes by declaring that James "may thank himself for it. He knows I always loved him better than Dick" [Hanover]. The Duke does not see fit to press the Queen further, but leaves her to her own reflections, and the rest of the letter is filled with arguments for James's return to the Church of England, which would make all things easy, "nay, for what I know, if he would but barely give hopes he would do so"; Queen Anne would do all she could to leave him the Crown, for he is satisfied she hates Hanover, and loves James, now rather better than ever. After reminding James of the example of his great-grandfather, Henri IV., the Duke suggests that if his scruples are too strong to allow him to follow it, at least let him try to make Queen Anne believe "that he himself desires to come back, but is ashamed, lest the world should think he changes his religion for an estate." If he can prevail upon himself to do as much on his side, as the Duke will do on his, "I by no means despair of persuading" the Queen to allow him to settle in Scotland; and when he is over there, the rest will surely follow at her death. The letter ends with the information that there is no time to lose, as the Queen, notwithstanding her care to hide it, has grown very infirm.

The question of James's future dwelling-place was, after much debate, satisfactorily settled by the Duke of Lorraine's willing assent to give him the castle of Bar-le-Duc as a residence; the young Duchess of Lorraine was a daughter of the Duke of Orleans, and a great favourite of Queen Mary of Modena. His personal security, about which the Duke of Lorraine expressed some anxiety, suggesting Nancy as a safer place in case of aggression, was to be assured by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht.

Meanwhile, his new condition of forced abandonment by France was made known to the world by the withdrawal of his guard of forty horsemen, and the substitution of the style of "Duke of Gloucester" for "King of England" by the French Court. 1712.

Mary of Modena and her son elected that the place of their parting should be the chapel tribune of the Chaillot convent, by the three silver urns wherein reposed in peace, after the many miseries of their lives, the hearts of Henrietta-Maria, of James II., and of the last fair daughter of the Stuarts. There, on the evening of September 6, after giving audience in the Queen's room to the faithful Duc de Lauzun, James III. bade farewell to his mother; and then came forth alone, commended her to the care of the nuns with the quiet gravity which had become habitual to him, and set his face towards a new exile. Chaillot "Journal."

James went as far as Chalons-sur-Marne, where he had to remain until the following February, owing to the Emperor Charles VI.'s long delay in sending the passports, without which he could not safely leave French territory for that of Lorraine. Hist. MSS. Commission, Stuart Papers, Windsor, Vol. I. pp. 247-254.

While at Chalons James was in constant communication with the Duke of Berwick, who had the chief management of his affairs. The Duke's letters reflect the specious promises and dubious acts of the English ministry, Lord Oxford's complaints of the embarrassment caused by some "puckles"[1] lately sent over by James, and Berwick's reply that no one had been sent since the King "had been flater'd with the good intentions of the present ministry," and that he was not master of all the Jacobites' actions and discourses, which very often were indiscreet. We see Bolingbroke's attempt, through Abbé Gaultier, to discover what Whigs had been in correspondence with St. Germains, and James's "generous reply, which ought to have a good effect upon the ministry by showing them that men run no risk who trust him." The goodwill and the powerlessness of the French Ministry, especially of de Torcy, are here made manifest, the latter advising Berwick to go to

[1] Messengers.

1712. Chalons (which he would have done but for a sudden order from Louis XIV. to take command of the troops at Roussillon), as the English Ministry trusted him, and would like him to be near the King. Berwick thinks James must let himself be governed by the advice of Lord Oxford until he should discover "that his intentions are not straight," which the Duke cannot believe, "seeing that his interests seem inseparable from those of your Majesty."

Hanover "Papers," Strafford, Macpherson.

Lord Oxford had written in August to the Electress Sophia, begging her to believe that as he had never swerved in his zeal for her succession, he would make it his study to watch every occasion to promote her interest.[1] There seems, however, little reason to doubt that when, in the month of November, the Duke of Hamilton, to whom Queen Anne had lately given the Garter, was appointed Ambassador to France, the secret object of his embassy was to obtain the Irish regiments in the French service, to be clandestinely conveyed, with James himself, into Scotland. Queen Anne, in view of the eventual succession of her brother, would have entered into a treaty with him on his arrival, to permit him to remain in Scotland during her own life, under the character of heir-presumptive to the throne. "His friends in Parliament were so numerous that she formed no doubt of being able to repeal the Act of Settlement."

Macpherson.

As little reason does there seem to be for doubting that the cruel frustration of the scheme was brought about unfairly, not to say treacherously. The fact that the challenge of Lord Mohun, given almost on the eve of the day of the Duke of Hamilton's intended departure for Paris, given, contrary to all the rules of honour, by the aggressor in the slight altercation which had passed between them,—the Duke, knowing Lord Mohun to be drunk, having not only not resented his affront, but sought all opportunities of avoiding a quarrel,—but the Duke's second, Colonel Hamilton, distinctly charged Mohun's second, General MacCartney, with having made a thrust

[1] In the same letter Lord Oxford describes England as "a country torn by faction, which has been twenty years in gathering strength."

at the Duke as he lay upon the ground. The known evil repute of both Mohun and MacCartney, the first, according to Swift, "a most profligate coward, whose hands had been already dyed with three foul murders," and with MacCartney, "the two most abandoned wretches that ever infested this island," gave colour to the accusation, loudly proclaimed, that the duel was not only a political one, but a deliberately planned assassination. Public excitement was further increased by the fact that this tragic scene in Hyde Park, at seven o'clock of a November morning, had been preceded a few days before by the sending of a species of infernal machine to Lord Oxford. Swift had himself opened the band-box containing it, as he happened to be with the Lord Treasurer at the time, and remarks in his journal to Stella, when telling her of his own escape from injury: "There is a devilish spirit among people, and the Ministry must exert themselves or sink."

1712-13. *Examiner*, Nov. 20, 1712.

There are two allusions to the fatal duel among the Hanover Papers. The Electress Sophia writes to Lord Strafford, English plenipotentiary at Utrecht, December 24, 1712:—"How is it possible to please every one, in a country where men kill one another for diversion, and where every individual follows his own opinion? . . ." The following extract has no date; it was written in all probability after the reception of Lord Bolingbroke's letter bearing that Mr. MacCartney having assassinated the Duke of Hamilton [and fled to the Continent], Queen Anne requested that if he came to Hanover he should be arrested and delivered to her:—

Hanover "Papers," Strafford.

> "The Elector wishes much, that you should acquaint General MacCartney's friends, that they should write to him by no means to come to Hanover; for that would be a great misfortune and embarrassment to the Elector at this juncture, and might set him at variance irretrievably with the Queen. This is strongly recommended to you. I also write about it, by order of his Electoral Highness, to Baron de Bothmar and to the Duke of Marlborough." [1]

Ibid. No. 30.

Baron de Bothmar had been removed, as not being a

[1] After George I.'s accession, MacCartney returned to London, was tried and acquitted. In April 1719 he was made Governor of Portsmouth.

1713. *persona grata* to Queen Anne, from London to Utrecht, where he represented the Court of Hanover at the Congress; and Baron de Grote, to whom the above instructions were evidently addressed, had succeeded him as Hanoverian envoy in England.

The loss of the Duke of Hamilton to the Stuart cause was irreparable. It left Queen Anne and Lord Oxford for the time being with no man of sufficient weight, fidelity, and discretion to be entrusted with the delicate mission assigned to him, and what Swift described as "that incurable disease of negligence or procrastination" from which both the Queen and her Minister increasingly suffered, prevented them from taking the immediate measures the situation required.

Meanwhile, James remained at Chalons, unable to proceed on his journey, owing to the Emperor's delays in granting passports. There he received the dismal tidings of the Duke of Hamilton's death, and from there he wrote his farewell letter to Louis XIV. before quitting French territory:—

Nairne's "Papers," Vol. IV. No. 50.

CHALONS-SUR-MARNE, *February* 18, 1713.

"SIRE,—What terms shall I employ to express my gratitude to your Majesty before I leave the asylum which you have been pleased to grant me almost ever since I was born, and which you do not permit me to leave, but in order to procure for me another more suitable, in the present state of your affairs and of my own? Words fail me to express how my heart is penetrated by the remembrance of your Majesty's beneficence towards me. . . .

"It is with all possible earnestness that I request your Majesty for a continuance of it, towards me and the Queen my mother; the only person who is left of all those who were most dear to me, and who deserves so much from me, as the best of mothers. . . .

"When I have assured your Majesty of my most sincere and fervent wishes for your prosperity and happiness, I have nothing further to say than to conjure your Majesty to be thoroughly persuaded that you will always find in me the respect, attachment, and, if I can presume to say, the tenderness of a son; . . . and if I shall ever see myself restored to my dominions, a faithful ally, who will make it his glory and his happiness to concur in the designs of a King who does honour to royalty."

The Emperor's passport, which was cautiously worded

to avoid offence, *exhibitior presentium*,[1] instead of designating James by name or title, having reached the Duke of Lorraine, it was further necessary to get a safe-conduct from the States-General, and James did not reach Bar-le-Duc until the end of February. Before leaving Chalons he reiterated his orders to his friends in England to associate with Lord Oxford and the Ministry, "and to go along with them in all their measures, according to the instructions sent last year," and particularly to caution those in Parliament to move nothing save in conjunction "with the Princess Anne" and her Ministers.

1713.

Middleton to Menzies, Nairne's "Papers," Vol. IV. No. 49.

In his anxiety to calm the religious apprehensions of the English people, James "carried no Jesuits with him" into Lorraine, but all his Protestant servants, in the hope

Nairne to Menzies, Vol. I. No. 58, Macpherson.

> "that the Church of England would see by this the King's inclination towards them; he being resolved on this, as on all other occasions, to be just and kind to them, and to be an impartial common father."

He did more; freed from the intolerant restrictions of Louis XIV., he proceeded to obtain the Duke of Lorraine's permission to turn one of the rooms in the Castle of Bar-le-Duc into a private chapel for the use of his Protestant servants, and appointed the non-juror clergyman Leslie their chaplain.[2]

The Congress of Utrecht, which had opened on January 1, 1712, did not end its long protracted labours until April 11, 1713, and even then the Emperor Charles VI. refused to accept its terms, and went on fighting for another year. By the treaty, the crown of Spain was secured to Philip V., who renounced all claims to the throne of France; England received certain American colonies, including Newfoundland, hitherto belonging to France; and Sicily, which Cardinal Gualterio and other friends of James had hoped to secure for him, was conferred upon the Duke of Savoy. The States-General obtained from France the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkerque,

[1] The Bishop of Bristol, one of the English Ministers at Utrecht, asked the envoy of Lorraine how James was specified, and appeared well pleased when shown a copy of the passport.

[2] See Appendix I.

1713. and the treaty of commerce they desired; while the "balance of power" was further ensured by the declaration that France and Spain should never be united under one crown. Perhaps the most humiliating clause to Louis XIV., whatever vague understanding there may have been with Queen Anne regarding it, was that in which he recognised the succession of Hanover to the crown of England, and promised that "he who had taken the title of King of Great Britain" should no longer stay in France, and that he would give him no help by land or sea.

The moment the treaty, or rather the nine separate treaties between the various powers had been signed, the Duke of Berwick pressed Lord Oxford for the fulfilment of the promises he had made him to restore James III. on the conclusion of peace.

"Memoirs" of Duke of Berwick.

"He put us off, and it became morally certain that all the advances Harley had made, had no other motive than his own interest, by joining the Jacobites with the Tories to strengthen his own party in Parliament. His object achieved, he thought of nothing but playing into the hands of the Court of Hanover."

Berwick's further soldier-like suggestion to cut the Gordian knot by sending James *incognito* to London, where he could make all the promises about religion, etc., and be presented to Parliament by Queen Anne, met with no response from Lord Oxford; and was judged too great a hazard by his own party in England and his friends abroad, Cardinal Gualterio writing to Queen Mary of Modena that her son's life was too precious to be thus risked.

The Duke of Berwick's judgment of Lord Oxford's motives may have been true; in fact the one safe clue to guide us in any attempt to penetrate through the labyrinth of the politics of that day, is to hold fast to the conviction that individual self-interest was the chief motive power of the various dealings of the English Ministry. To this we may add the timorous fears of Queen Anne, which the facts we are about to relate could not but greatly increase,

while they served to augment her nervous suspicions and the uncertainty of her temper. 1713.

If the good faith and simple sincerity of James and the Duke of Berwick had made it easy for Lord Oxford to obtain not only their quiescence, but their active good offices in promoting his measures and securing his majority in Parliament, it was very different with the Court of Hanover. The Elector had not only thrown himself completely into the arms of the Whigs, but neither the assurances of Queen Anne's Ministers, nor the repeated measures they brought in respecting his succession, could allay his suspicions, or those of his chief agents in England or abroad. The choice of Lorraine as a dwelling-place for James did not satisfy them; and the rumour that he had joined the Church of England disconcerted them to such a degree that Robethon, who was now *Secrétaire des Ambassades* at Hanover, wrote, in January, by the Elector's order to Baron de Grote, that he must sound Lord Halifax and other friends, if they would bring in a Bill, excluding the Pretender and all his posterity from the succession, "even if he should become a Protestant. . . . If the Act passes, we gain every material point, . . . if the Queen's Ministers oppose it, that will unmask them and contribute more effectually than anything else to open the eyes of the nation." And a few days later: "It would be an excellent thing to oblige France to send the Pretender to Rome, and you must neglect nothing that will induce the English Court to demand it." In February, he writes that Queen Anne's Ministers "exerted themselves to bring about a peace, merely to pave the way for the Prince of Wales," and that Lord Oxford was "devoted irrecoverably to the Pretender and to the King of France."

Hanover "Papers," Macpherson.

The same correspondence, the facts of which are all confirmed by the Jacobite correspondence of the same period, gives amusing proof of the Elector of Hanover's almost insuperable objection to untying his purse-strings,—"Not a crown," is his answer to a suggestion that certain poor lords should be given small pensions, and Robethon

Ibid.

1712. writes, "you must not expect the Elector will put his hand to his pocket even for a masterstroke of party—*coup de partie*—such as the gaining of the Duke of Argyle and his brother; although, according to Bernsdorff (President of the Elector's Council), there is not room for a moment's hesitation." The Elector refused £50 for the *Examiner*, but all his Ministers determined to urge him again. He consented, 10th February, to allow £40 to the author of the *Flying Post*, and at last, at the earnest entreaties of his entire Ministry, consented to pay Lord Fitz-Walter £600. Far from inclining to give money to obtain the support of English lords and newspaper writers, George of Hanover greatly desired to get money from the English Court, and one of Baron de Grote's chief missions in London was to obtain a pension for the Electress Sophia, and to claim the arrears due to the Elector for the troops which had served in Flanders. In case the pension is obtained, if the Duke of Argyle and his brother appear to be acting sincerely, Grote may then promise them "from that fund, pensions proportioned to the importance of the service they will render. . . . You will easily understand that you must make these promises in the name of the Electress."

Hanover "Papers," Macpherson.

The outcome of the consultations between Baron de Grote and the Whig party was a proposal that the Elector should invade England at the head of an army, as William of Orange had done twenty-five years before. Bernsdorff chides Grote for not having put all the passage "regarding our going over with a body of troops now to England" into cypher rather than any other; and orders Robethon to tell him that as the design absolutely requires the concurrence of the States-General and their fleet, it is not to be thought of at present, since the whole attention of the States is devoted to gaining the good graces of Queen Anne and her Ministers, "imagining they have done enough for us, when they signed the Treaty guaranteeing the succession." If the Queen dies before the Pretender arrives "all things will be easier," but M. de Bernsdorff thinks that if it became necessary to take such measures

against Her Majesty and her Ministers "we would meet with terrible difficulties from the party in the nation who love the Queen," and he doubts if the Elector will ever bring himself to such a resolution. . . ." 1713.

The subject was much discussed at the Hague, and Robethon writes, February 21, to Baron de Bothmar, that the Whig proposals are impracticable without the concurrence of the States-General, "upon which we cannot depend at present." M. de Bernsdorff is also very angry to find by Bothmar's letter, that the Whigs communicated the scheme of invasion to the Austrian General Schulenberg. It is probable that he will make no good use of it, and that he has already informed Abbé Passionei, Papal Nuncio at the Hague, and his intimate friend, of the proposal.

Hanover "Papers," Macpherson.

The news that Pope Clement XI. had bestowed the Cardinal's hat upon Abbé de Polignac on James III.'s nomination, no sooner reached Hanover than orders were sent to Baron de Grote to propagate the fact in conversation, and to publish it in the *Flying Post* "with reflections suitable to the subject. . . . This Act, as a King and a Popish King, should not recommend him to the nation."[1]

As soon as Lord Oxford became aware of the design of the Whigs and the Hanover Cabinet, he met it by a motion in Parliament, little understood at the time, but which became plain later; it bore "that for the greater security of the succession, it should be high treason to bring foreign troops into the kingdom." No law was required against bringing troops to support James, for such troops, if foreign, might be treated as enemies, and in the case of Englishmen, as rebels. Oxford's aim was, therefore, to convey to the Whigs and their associates in Hanover that their scheme was discovered, and that the Bill was designed against bringing in the Elector in a hostile manner. Parliament met on April 13, and the

[1] "Those devils of Grub St. rogues that write the *Flying Post and Medley* will not be quiet. They are always mauling Ld. Treasurer, Ld. Bolingbroke, and me. We have the dog under prosecution. . . . He is a Scotch rogue, one Ridpath. . . ."—Swift's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 185, London, 1767.

1713. Queen's speech, although expressing great zeal for the Succession of Hanover, displeased the friends of the Elector, who regarded it and the consequent addresses of the two Houses "as an artful design to deceive the nation."

At the same time the Court of Hanover was preparing for the eventuality of Queen Anne's death. de Grote is directed to consult with Lords Sunderland, Somers, Halifax, and Townshend what steps must be taken upon reception of the news; what procurations, patents, and orders must be made ready? As the Electress, who was in her 82nd year, could not start at once nor travel with necessary despatch, the Elector "or, on his refusal," the Electoral Prince should set out for London without loss of a moment. Bernsdorff suggests that the Electoral Prince, or Duke Ernest, should repair to Ghent, Bruges, and Dunkerque, at present in the hands of the English, to secure those three towns, place good governors in them, and administer oaths to the British garrisons. General Cadogan should hold himself ready to proceed at once to England, furnished with the orders of the Electress for taking the oaths of the troops, breaking suspected officers, filling up their places, and securing the Tower of London. Marlborough, who with his imperious Duchess was living in retirement at Antwerp, was to be asked what part he would choose to act!

Hanover "Papers," Macpherson.

Bothmar sent the Duke of Marlborough's opinion (The Hague, March 18 and 25), that the Elector should go to England, with full powers from the Electress as her lieutenant-general, immediately upon Queen Anne's death. He also suggests that his Electoral Highness should have some one with the Pretender to send exact and speedy intelligence of all that happens, and offers to find a proper person, if the Elector would lay out 50 louis d'or a month, and in the meantime he will himself endeavour to have news of what is done at the Pretender's Court. Bothmar has had three spies offered to him by M. Cadogan—an Irishman of the name of Carol, a Dutchman, and a gentleman of Lorraine, whose name he had

forgotten; the three together will cost 60 louis d'or a month. James III. seems to have had an equal share with Queen Anne in the preoccupations of the Court of Hanover. In March, 1713, Baron de Grote had fallen ill in London (he died a few weeks later), so Robethon writes to M. Galke, secretary of the legation, the intelligence he has received concerning James from Paris:— 1713.

"The affairs of the Prince of Wales clear up from day to day. It appears that, abandoning his religion for his interest, he is resolved to be of the Church of England. He left all the Roman Catholics with the Queen his mother at St. Germains. None but Protestants are about him at Bar, except Lord Middleton. . . . He has asked for passports for Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne. He has very weak lungs, and will not return to Bar, where the air is too sharp for him. He is now at Commercy, and has in his suite the Earl of Middleton, Lord Edward [Drummond], son of the Duke of Perth, Mr. Strickland, Mr. MacDonald, and Mr. Floyd. . . ." Hanover "Papers," Macpherson.

The Elector of Hanover having refused to contribute a penny towards the English elections for the new Parliament, the Whigs, through Lord Sunderland, make another proposal to him, even of greater consequence, and which appears to them absolutely necessary. It is to send over his son, the Electoral Prince. It is perhaps the only means of securing the succession. There must be no delay in hopes of an invitation, which will certainly not be sent, and Lord Sunderland promises to propose "in the strongest manner" in Parliament, that the Duke of Lorraine should be urged to send the Pretender out of his dominions.

The Duke of Marlborough, to whom the Elector had offered the bait of 2½ per cent on the pay of his troops, wrote to him from Aix-la-Chapelle, April 11, 1713, thanking him for the commissions sent to Lieutenant-General Cadogan and himself "to act for the service of your Electoral Highness when the opportunity mentioned in that commission shall occur." He hopes to convince him, by his actions rather than by his words, that he will always be ready to hazard fortune and life for his service. All good Englishmen ought to be of the same sentiment, "as,

1713. they cannot hope for the salvation of their country but from you alone."

The reports of the Hanoverian agents in London were less reassuring as to the sentiments of the English. They considered those of Queen Anne and her Ministers detestable, and urged the sending over of the Electoral Prince "as the finest opportunity in the world to catch Lord Oxford in his own snare." The Prince requires neither order nor invitation from Parliament, which is too ill-composed to send it, nor yet the Queen's permission, which most assuredly she would not grant. He is at liberty to come of his own accord, being naturalised, Duke of Cambridge, a member of the House of Peers, and his rank as Prince of the blood being settled. According to the laws, the Queen cannot forbid him from coming, she and the two Houses will be obliged to receive him well; "while every one will turn to him, as to the rising sun, seeing the Queen's health is so broken. . . . This is the infallible remedy against present evils, and against such as are dreaded hereafter"; and it is to be feared that if their friends the Whigs meet with a refusal "they will believe themselves abandoned, will lose courage and take their own measures." Lord Halifax would have the Prince come post, with a *valet de chambre* and two footmen, under another name, without his Order of the Garter, and without liveries, and take his passage on a packet-boat with a passport from Lord Strafford (English envoy at the Hague) procured under a borrowed name. The Duke of Marlborough advises the Electoral Prince to go to England under the pretext of thanking the Queen for the affection she expressed in her speech towards the Electoral family; and Bothmar, in conveying this advice, adds that he hears from England, that there was the greatest difficulty imaginable in determining the Queen to mention the Serene family at all in her speech.

Hanover "Papers," Macpherson.

The Duke of Argyle and Lord Anglesey are praised for their activity by the Hanoverian envoys, Kreyenberg and l'Hermitage, whose urgent and repeated representations at last produced an answer from the Elector (July 4,

1713. Hanover "Papers," Schütz fils, 8, p. 20.

1713). His early indifference to the English succession had given place to a dogged determination to have the crown, if it might be got without undue trouble or expense; and in expressing his surprise that his friends in England should doubt his assurances that he would never abandon them, he reminds them—foreign policy was ever his strong point—that so long as he engages the Emperor to continue the war with France, and keeps 17,000 of his own troops with the Austrian forces on the Rhine, it is practically impossible for the French King to send an army to England with the Pretender. He further says that the English must exert themselves, for he cannot save them against their will.

The Whigs had asked for £100,000 to secure the elections, and had then reduced their demand to £50,000; the Elector regrets that he can give them no money, and reminds them that the English Court "would still have the heaviest purse." After giving his reasons for not sending the Electoral Prince to England, he concludes:—

> "The Elector has been so often amused these two years, with false intelligence of the Queen's health, that he does not know but her death may still be very distant; and it would be imprudent in him, upon an uncertainty, to expose his only son and the only hope of his family."

The Duke of Argyle had promised to carry all the elections in Scotland for £20,000, but Bothmar, writing from the Hague, sadly acknowledges that there is no hope of getting the money from the Elector, while Lord Halifax tells l'Hermitage that France will be no sooner delivered from the war with the Empire, than the Pretender will be in England, "and then it will be impossible to answer for anything."

The danger of the Pretender's arrival in England is strongly urged in a letter of August $\frac{1}{12}$ from Lord Sunderland to Bothmar at the Hague. He fears the Elector's hesitation may be caused by jealousy of the Electoral Prince, and suggests that he should come himself.

> "But if he will neither come himself nor send the Electoral Prince, I assure you that all friends of all ranks will consider themselves

1713. abandoned. . . . When it is seen that what was proposed, with regard to money, is rejected, and that the Elector will neither come himself nor allow his son to come, we shall become tired and leave affairs to take what turn they please."

The Electress Sophia adds a point of irony to the discussion in a letter to Lord Strafford :—

"You have reason to be well pleased that you are born an Englishman ; for you banish your Kings when they don't behave well, and want to introduce a new religion. . . ."

Hanover "Papers," Schütz fils, p. 55.

A new envoy, Baron de Schütz, was sent to England from Hanover in September, and his letters represent the same anxieties and fears as those of his predecessors. He also is convinced of Queen Anne's aversion for her Hanoverian relations, and of her affection for her brother. The Jacobites openly talk of the Pretender's return ; some desiring that he should come with a body of troops, others that he should come alone. They flatter themselves that the new Parliament will be devoted to the Crown and disposed to infringe the Act of Succession. Schütz continues that it is certain Queen Anne

"attributes the loss of her children to the dethronement of her father ; having been very sensibly touched by an affecting letter which he wrote to her before his death, in which he recommended his family to her. It was brought to her by Madame Oglethorpe, who went twice to France. . . . I have all this from Lord Portmore." [1]

Queen Anne constantly turns the conversation when the family of Hanover is mentioned, reports Schütz, and Mr. Stanhope has assured him that "the greatest number of the country gentlemen are rather against us than for us." General Cadogan recommends the disbursement of

"£6000 or £7000, to secure six or seven voices in the House of Peers. . . . He says it is a certain fact that several peers, wanting a livelihood, are obliged . . . to take pensions from the Court, and to vote as it orders them. . . . He entreats you to represent the consequence of all this to your Court. He promised me a list of these poor Lords when Lord Sunderland shall be here."

These demands for money fell upon deaf ears, but

[1] David Colyear, Earl of Portmore, who had married Catherine Sedley, Countess of Dorchester.

none the less did the Hanoverian agents in London continue to make them; and Schütz meanwhile sends a pessimistic account of the disposition of Queen Anne and her Ministers. They are entirely against the succession of Hanover, and the Queen is so "totally prejudiced," that failing the Pretender, "her hatred against us is so strong that she will endeavour to leave the crown to the greatest strangers, rather than allow it to fall to the Electoral family."

1713.

Hanover "Papers," Schütz fils, p. 83.

Meanwhile the Prince, who was the object of these alarms, continued to win golden opinions in Lorraine. He visited the Duke and Duchess at Luneville, and wrote a lively account to the Queen, his mother, of his reception; how the Duke had gone to meet him, and the Duchess had wept with tenderness as she embraced him, how they had exchanged snuff-boxes, he giving the Duchess his gold one, and receiving hers of lapis in return. He had hunted with the Duke, and danced country-dances afterwards in an apartment as fine as those of Versailles. He also visited the old Prince and Princess of Vaudemont at Commercy, and among the persons he himself received were Cardinal Gualterio, then on a visit to France, and a half-crazed Quaker prophet—William Penn and the whole body of Quakers were fervent Jacobites—who had travelled expressly from England to announce his speedy restoration to the throne;—"I am not so great a prophet as Daniel, but I am as true a one." James, who had inherited his mother's dislike of prophecies and horoscopes "and those kind of extravagances," was greatly diverted by the message of this second Daniel, and sent him away happy with a handful of medals.

Chaillot "Journal."

Among the graver matters pressing upon James's consideration was the question of the resignation of his Secretary of State, Lord Middleton. A strong cabal had existed for months against this, the ablest man in the Stuart service. Queen Mary of Modena and the Duke of Berwick strongly deprecated his removal from office, but the information that his presence with the King was odious to the Protestant Jacobites prevailed, and James,

1713. Imperial Archives, Vienna.

writing in June to the Duke of Lorraine, announces that he has at last consented to yield to Lord Middleton's long-expressed desire to retire from office, giving him at the same time public marks of "particular consideration for his long services, great merit, and inviolable fidelity." Sir Thomas Higgons succeeded Middleton as Secretary of State, an appointment which James, in after-years, described as ridiculous.[1]

Lord Middleton returned to St. Germains as Queen Mary of Modena's first lord-in-waiting, but his retirement from Bar-le-Duc failed to lead to any clearer exposition of Lord Oxford's intentions. The Duke of Berwick in vain instructed Abbé Gaultier to "speake plaine" to him, as there was no time to be lost, "considering what disorders there are in England at present" (July 24, 1713).

Stuart "Papers," Hist. MSS. Commission, Vol. I. p. 271.

The disorders were great; the arrival of the Duc d'Aumont, the French Ambassador, in January, had been the signal for the rabble to give free vent to their natural aversion to France and to Popery; a flood of ballads was let loose, and after many incendiary threats, the Ambassador's house was duly set on fire while he was entertaining Lord Waldegrave and several foreign Ministers at dinner, and burned to the ground. The wildest rumours were afloat, the Pretender was declared to be in London, while placards for and against him were successively posted on the walls of Edinburgh; and Scotch gentlemen were arrested on their way to London with Jacobite pamphlets. James's birthday, the $\frac{10}{21}$ June, was celebrated with bonfires and rejoicings in many parts of Great Britain, notably at Ipswich, where the enthusiasm was extraordinary, with loud acclamations in favour of James III.; while at Montrose, the Jacobites, assembled from the surrounding country, marched in procession through the town calling for the King, and "no Hanover," "no Whigs."

French MS. "Journal," Bib. Nat. Paris.

So strange was the state of uncertainty and suspicion that even the measure carried in both Houses of Parlia-

[1] A brother of Sir Thomas Higgons was one of Lord Stair's spies at St. Germains, and abstracted letters from the Queen's cabinet within a few days of her death.

ment, in spite of Oxford's angry remonstrances, to petition Queen Anne to insist upon the Pretender's removal from Lorraine, seems to have been taken seriously by neither the Jacobites nor the Hanoverians; the Duke of Berwick describing it in a letter to James (July 24, 1713) as "a trick to play the Court party," which will probably fail, as Queen Anne "in all likelihood will say nothing against him." The Hanoverian agent in London, Galke, while rejoicing at the step the Ministers have been obliged unwillingly to take, and "which may do something for the further security of the succession," writes that he has reason to believe that the Queen has written to the Pretender to inform him that she had taken the step of writing to the Duke of Lorraine against her will; assuring him that his interests were always dear to her, that she would take all imaginable care of them, that it was not yet time to declare herself, and a great deal more in the same strain, and even treating him as brother. Galke probably obtained his information respecting this secret letter of Queen Anne's (of which we find no trace in the Stuart or Jacobite Papers) from a certain M. de Plesse or Plessen, a former member of Prince George of Denmark's household. He had entered into secret negotiations with the Elector's agents in London some time previously, unknown to the Queen and Ministry, to whom it appears he had constant access.[1]

1713.

Hanover "Papers," 126.

Macpherson.

Queen Anne's letter to the Duke of Lorraine drew from him a spirited answer, dated Luneville, November 26, 1713, of which the English translation is in the British Museum. After expressing his surprise at the addresses of Parliament and the remonstrances of the English Minister at Utrecht (the Bishop of Bristol), he reminds the Queen that he had reason to believe that the Chevalier of St. George's residence in Lorraine "would be highly agreeable to all sides." He proclaims himself proud of the honour of having welcomed a Prince so accomplished and so virtuous,—"the most amiable of the Human Race,

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 14,854, f. 54.

[1] "Plessen promised to give me notice in time," wrote Schütz in September; "in public we pretend to be scarcely acquainted."

1713. who only wants to be seen to be admired, and known to be almost adored." He concludes with the hope, that her Majesty and the British Nation will not take it in ill part, that he cannot comply with a demand so inconsistent with his honour and with the laws of hospitality, or withdraw his protection from a Prince whose only crime is to have been born the last male heir of his illustrious family.

At the end of the year, the Duke of Berwick writes to James, that St. John (Lord Bolingbroke) had informed Abbé Gaultier that he need not stir from Lorraine,—"at least M. Albert (Queen Anne) is of that opinion."

Hist. MSS. Commission. Stuart "Papers," Vol. I. p. 286.

In the new Parliament, which met in the autumn, the Whigs, though still in a minority, were increased in number and well deserved Swift's description of "a cunning, provoked, discarded party." With the enormous majority of Tories and Jacobites in the late Parliament, it might have been possible, perhaps easy, for Lord Oxford to have passed a measure re-opening the Act of Settlement, finding that "loop-hole" of which the Duke of Buckinghamshire had spoken to Queen Anne. It might have been possible to weld the diverse sections of the Tories into one consistent party, had Oxford possessed the necessary energy and power of organisation, had he and Bolingbroke been united instead of divided by ever-increasing jealousy and antagonism. His indolent procrastination of temper may have been enhanced by the doubt as to how far the nation—which had shown the strength and extent of its Jacobitism at the time of Sacheverell's trial—could withstand the appeal the Whigs would make to the two great latent forces of hatred of France and hatred of Popery, forces so easy to lash into a frenzy of panic and fury. So he delayed and hesitated, provoking the complaint from James to de Torcy that he knew not what to think of him "for nothing in the world so resembles an amusement—*ne ressemble tant à un amusement*—as his conduct with regard to me." And yet, before the end of the year, Gaultier reported (December 14, 1713) to de Torcy, that Lord Oxford had said he would never consent while he lived, that England should be governed by a German, that

Salomon. "History," p. 332.

Brit. Mus. Macintosh "Transcripts," Vol. VIII.

Parliament would settle matters, so that the Chevalier must necessarily come back after the Queen's death, provided that he behaved as his own interests required, and imitated the conduct of his uncle, Charles II. 1713.

Before the end of the year, two Jacobite addresses were presented to Queen Anne by Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, from the boroughs of Inverness and Nairne. Schütz sent a copy to Hanover which was endorsed by Robethon:—"An address from the Highlanders of Scotland to the Queen, to dispose of everything so that her brother may succeed her." Hanover "Papers," p. 151.

CHAPTER VI

1714. At the beginning of 1714, Queen Anne at Kensington and Queen Mary of Modena at St. Germains were seriously ill. The anxiety of Mary's son, separated from his mother by the inexorable exigences of his situation, lives in the letters to her treasurer Dicconson, which have come down to us; and the passage is significant of his own experience of life —at twenty-five years of age—when he writes:—"She is, I am sure, more to be envied than pitied . . . but those she leaves want support and comfort to a great degree."

Both Queens recovered; Lord Oxford describing the English Court to Swift as "out of their wits" when anything ailed Queen Anne, and, "as soon as she is well, they act as if she were immortal," words which he might have aptly applied to his own behaviour. For the seven remaining months of Anne's reign, the confusion in England grew daily worse confounded; a section of the High Church party and Tory leaders, disappointed in their own views of office and offended with the Lord Treasurer, began to cabal with the Whigs;—among them were Lord Anglesey, the new Archbishop of York, Sir William Dawes, who was followed by the whole Bench of Bishops, and the Earls of Abingdon and Jersey, Lords Ashburnham, Carteret, and others. Lord Oxford sent his relative, Mr. Harley, to Hanover, to assure the Elector of his fidelity, which caused Schütz to write that the Lord Treasurer's sincerity was to be doubted; the Earl of Strafford, with equal ill-success, wrote to the Electress Sophia from the Hague that the Tories were her best friends; while Marlborough, in frequent communication with the Court

Hanover "Papers," Bothmar, X. No. 147.

of St. Germains, through the Duke of Berwick, even to the soliciting of Queen Mary of Modena's good offices with Queen Anne,[1] sends word to Robethon, February 26, 1714, that the States-General are rousing themselves from their lethargy, are preparing a strong squadron of men-of-war, and have likewise, "in case of Her Majesty's death, agreed on the most proper means of assisting his Electoral Highness with their troops. . . ." 1714. Hanover "Papers."

Schütz meanwhile continues to lament to Robethon over the excessive parsimony of the Elector: "You cannot imagine what prejudice it does us"; while Plessen, who acts as Schütz's spy in the Queen's household, recounts his private conversations with her, and how she has declared that she will oppose "with all her force" the bringing in of the Pretender, or of the Electoral Prince, during her lifetime. The bringing in of the Electoral Prince during Queen Anne's lifetime was precisely what the Whigs were making a fresh attempt to accomplish, and Lord Townshend, early in April, sent an urgent message to that effect—a message endorsed, according to a note in the Hanover Papers, by the Dukes of Somerset, Argyle, Roxburgh, Montrose, Devonshire, Kent, and Bolton. The proclamation against the Pretender, passed in both Houses in April, and offering a reward of £5000 to whoever should bring him to justice, did not allay the Hanoverian envoy's suspicions:—

> "She [Queen Anne] set all her ministers to work, and they spoke, one after another, against it; they think they have made themselves masters of everything, when they got a clause added, by which it is left to Her Majesty to publish such a proclamation when she shall find it proper, being very sure she never will."[2] *Ibid.*

The apprehensions of the Elector's agents in England, fostered by the Whig leaders, gained such a height as to make them declare that in the event of Queen Anne's death—so close had the running become between Stuart

[1] He apprehends that "young Puisieux [The new Parliament] will sue him for an old debt, which would quite beggar him. . . ."—*Duke of Berwick to James III., Calendar of Stuart Papers, Windsor*, vol. i. p. 278.

[2] Schütz was mistaken; the proclamation was issued the following June.

1714. and Hanover—he who arrived first would be King of England. Under this pressure the Elector consented, when it had become apparent that neither the Queen nor her Parliament would send an invitation to his son, to allow Schütz, in the name of the Electress Sophia, to apply to Lord Chancellor Harcourt for the writ of summons for that prince to take his seat as Duke of Cambridge. It was an unfortunate move; Harcourt refused to give the writ without the Queen's consent, and when he had referred the matter to her, she "was pleased to say . . . she could hardly persuade herself" that Schütz had acted by direction from Hanover, "and did not think fit to give any other answer."[1] Lord Oxford wrote the same day to Hanover, with strong expressions of attachment to the Electoral family, but warning them

Hanover "Papers," p. 593.

Ibid. Bothmar, No. 88.

> "that there is but one thing can be any way of prejudice to the Succession . . . and that is the endeavour to bring them, or any of them, over without the Queen's consent. . . . The factions are so high, that it must be very mischievous both to the Queen and the Serene House, to have any such thing enterprised . . . that will change the dispute to the Crown and the Succession; whereas now it is between the House of Hanover and a Popish Pretender."

Schütz nevertheless urged the coming of the Electoral Prince, while admitting that Lord Oxford had told him "he had never seen the Queen in a greater passion . . . Her Majesty taking it as the greatest mark of contempt that could be given her. . . ."

Schütz was forbidden to appear at Court, and his instant recall was demanded. Lord Strafford wrote from the Hague to the Electress, advising her and the Elector to disavow their Minister; but they retaliated upon Queen Anne by handing the following formal memorial to Mr. Harley at Hanover. After thanking the Queen for her expressions of kindness, the memorial proceeds:—

Ibid.

> "It is in reliance on this that their Electoral Highnesses take the liberty of representing to Her Majesty the necessity of obliging the

[1] "A Council was called," writes Schütz, "and continued sitting until after midnight."

Pretender to remove to Italy, and the danger which may result from his staying longer in Lorraine, both to Her Majesty's Kingdoms and to her royal person, and the Protestant succession." 1714.

The demand is next made that the Electoral Prince may be allowed to settle in England. And

"Their Electoral Highnesses likewise take the liberty of renewing the instance they made near two years ago . . . for asking that such a pension and establishment should be settled by Act of Parliament upon H.H. the Electress, as the nearest heir to the Crown usually enjoys. Their Electoral Highnesses hope likewise that Her Majesty will be pleased to grant titles belonging to the princes of the blood of Great Britain, to such of the Protestant Princes of the Electoral family as are not yet invested with them."

This document, and the immediate publication in London, by the Whigs, of Queen Anne's letters to the Electress and her grandson, refusing in peremptory terms to consent to the coming of the latter to England, were not calculated to appease the Queen's anger or to allay her fears, which were so great as to make her ill. General Cadogan, writing to Robethon of the inexpressible desire of his friends for the arrival of the Electoral Prince, says of the Queen: "She sleeps little and eats nothing, and she is in such dreadful anxiety that her mind suffers no less than her body." The Duke of Berwick writes to James that the "Princess of Denmark has been out of order by a fright of a plott"; and it is not one of the least strange incidents of that curious time to find the exiled and proscribed brother of the terrified Queen—who, under pressure of Parliament, had again written to the Duke of Lorraine, asking him to remove to a greater distance "the person who pretends to a right to my crown"—writing through the Duke of Buckingham of his true concern for her, "and how ready he is to vindicate her quarrel if it were in his power." Louis XIV. also made offers of service, in case the Elector of Hanover should attempt anything against her. "Calendar[1] Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 323.

The Electress Sophia was found sitting dead in her chair, in the gardens of Herrenhausen, soon after the receipt of Queen Anne's letter; and the Elector and his son,

[1] Abbreviation of "Hist. MSS. Commission, Stuart Papers, Windsor."

1714. writing in terms of mingled grief and uneasiness, expressed their respect for the Queen's royal person and their gratitude for her kindness, the Elector referring her to his memorial, and declaring that he never took the smallest concern in factions.

The intercourse of Oxford and of Bolingbroke, furiously though they were quarrelling with each other, was meanwhile continuing actively with James at Bar-le-Duc, through Abbé Gaultier in London and the Duke of Berwick. The French Ambassador, d'Iberville, in a remarkable letter to de Torcy, March 6, 1714, gives the substance of two long conversations with Bolingbroke, who had told him that the Tories reckoned themselves in Great Britain to be eight to one to the Whigs, but in London the proportion was much smaller. The Whigs boasted of having the fullest purses, the best swords, and the best heads, and even the fairest women, on their side.

Salomon and Macintosh "Transcripts," Brit. Mus.

He divided the Tories into four classes—those who wished for the Restoration of James, even though he did not change his religion; 2nd, The Hanoverian Tories, who would never accept James even though he conformed to the Church of England; 3rd, Those who were averse to the Elector, either from dislike to his person, from fear of having no share in the Government under him, fear of a civil war, or from principles of justice. They desired James to succeed, but wished he would embrace the Protestant religion. The fourth class consisted of Tories who were so from interested motives. The Whigs, Bolingbroke divided into two classes, the Republicans, and those who did not desire a republic because they would lose their rank.[1] Among the Whigs, as among the Tories, were people who would turn their coats if the Court would satisfy them.

Asked by d'Iberville what measures James should take, Bolingbroke replied that he should either await the effect of the steps which would be taken for him, without

[1] In the previous November Bolingbroke had said that "the spirit of Cromwell's agitators" was abroad.

missing any opportunity, or the revolution which would infallibly break out within a year after Queen Anne's death, because the Elector would not be able to maintain himself on the throne, and that it was better to remain inactive than to lose everything by too much haste. The late Earl of Rochester and all the soundest heads, such as the Chancellor, Mr. Bromley, and the Bishop of Rochester, were of this opinion. Should an attempt be made at a restoration by force, the Tories of the second class would join the Whigs and the Ministers; and the most conspicuous of the third class would be forced to take the same side, in order to avoid their own ruin and a civil war. If, on the other hand, the Ministers were allowed time to win back people's minds to the old maxims of loyalty to the King and attachment to the English Church, the end would certainly be reached of uniting the whole Tory party in favour of James III. For this it was necessary either that the Queen should live long enough to give the requisite time, or that the Whigs should proceed to extremities, which would give an opportunity of advancing faster. James's change of religion, however, Bolingbroke looked upon as a *sine qua non*, saying that only the Catholics, the Elector's emissaries, or adventurers who sought to make their living by fishing in troubled waters, could give him hopes of ascending the throne without conforming. The people would rather accept a Turk than a Catholic.[1] Bolingbroke informed d'Iberville of the infamous conduct of Marlborough, who was making proposals to James, while he was assuring the Elector in writing, that he was ready to serve him to the last drop of his blood. There was also reason for suspecting that among those in France who knew the Pretender's deepest secrets, there was some one in correspondence with Marlborough. d'Iberville's first idea having fallen upon Berwick, Bolingbroke hastily

1714.

[1] The Whigs were actively promoting a "no popery" cry. Hoffman wrote to the Emperor that on Queen Elizabeth's birthday and on Queen Anne's "three big effigies of the Pope, the Prince of Wales, and the Devil, accompanied by hundreds of torch-bearers, were carried in procession and burned in front of the Parliament House. . . . By such spectacles the Whigs try to excite the populace against the Prince of Wales, and they find it works well."

1714. replied, "Yes, but there is another," whom he did not name, but said that Louis XIV. had been informed of it.

The change of religion forms the subject, together with the procrastinating replies concerning the payment of Queen Mary of Modena's jointure, of nearly all the correspondence between the English Ministers and the Court of St. Germains.[1] Personally, Bolingbroke was willing to accept James III. whether he conformed or not, but he seems to have been persuaded that unless he did so, his restoration was impracticable. The views of Oxford are less clear, but to both Ministers it appeared as impossible that James would refuse so reasonable a request as that of conforming, or pretending to conform, to the Church of England, as it seemed impossible to him and to the Duke of Berwick, that such a thing could be demanded of a man of honour, even with a crown as its price. The fact had been categorically announced in the *Amsterdam Gazette* of the previous November, causing him to write to the Queen, his mother:—

Chaillot "Papers," Archives Nationale.

"I doubt not but that the positive and circumstantial reports which are prevalent of my change of religion will have reached you, but you know me too well to be alarmed by them, and I can assure you that by the grace of God, you will sooner see me dead than out of the Church."

Nairne's "Papers," Vol. III. No. 27, Vol. IV. No. 54.

The following "abstract of a letter, written in His Majesty's hand in reply to those who urged him to change his religion," bears the date of March 13, 1714:—

". . . I neither want counsel nor advice to remain unalterable in my first resolution, of never dissembling my religion; but rather to abandon all than act against my conscience and honour, cost what it will. These are my sentiments, and had I others, or should I act contrary to those I have, where is the man of honour that would trust me? and how could ever my subjects depend upon me, or be happy under me, if I should make use of such a notorious hypocrisy to get myself amongst them? . . .

"My present sincerity, at a time it may cost me so dear, ought to be a sufficient earnest to them of my religious observance of whatever

[1] Ailesbury, whose information is generally correct, says that "Queen Anne, some time before her death, made good for the time to come that most just and equitable pension or dowry . . . but God Almighty was pleased to take . . that good and great Queen. . . ."—*Ailesbury Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 505.

I promise them; for I can say, with truth, that I heartily abhor all dissimulation and double-dealing, and I love my subjects even now too well not to wish, as much for their sakes as my own, that they would at least open their eyes to see their own true interest, and timely provide for their own peace and quiet. . . ."[1] 1714.

Nairne, in a letter to Cardinal Gualterio, represents James III. at this time as exposed to the greatest temptation that could assail a man. His renunciation was not a solitary act, made once for all and irrevocable in its effects; it was the more difficult heroism of a constant daily putting aside of a great and dazzling temptation, the constant withholding of his hand, the staying of his feet from passing the threshold of the room in his own palace where Leslie, the non-juror, ministered to his Protestant household. The English Ministers complained of his obstinacy; Bolingbroke declaring that if he would not give them satisfaction on that point, his friends would be obliged to join the ranks of his rival;—he remained firm, and even those who hold him most mistaken may yet acknowledge him as no unworthy Prince, who held his honour and his conscience at so dear a rate.

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 3.

Ibid. p. 294.

The Duke of Berwick, who had come to regard Lord Oxford as "a man so dark and incomprehensible, that one is often tempted to believe him a knave at the bottom," and little better than a second Sunderland, proposed several schemes to the Court of France and to James at Bar, the chief of which were that he should himself go to England, under the pretence of obtaining the reversal of his attainder, and so find occasion to speak to Queen Anne, to the Duke of Ormonde, Oxford, and Bolingbroke; or the even loftier proposal that he should be sent there as Louis XIV.'s Ambassador in place of M. d'Iberville. The French Court seemed inclined to favour the idea, but Berwick, writing to James that if he can get leave to go to England, he will be able to work, remarks that "if Harley is a knave at the bottom he will hinder me from

Ibid. p. 302.

[1] It is probably in reference to this letter that Queen Mary of Modena wrote to Dicconson, "with grief but without surprise," that her son's letters are not liked on the other side.

1714. "Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 315.

reversing my outlawry." It will take time, and if Queen Anne should die in the meanwhile, Berwick does not see what can be done. The point is very nice; it would look odd to the world if the Elector of Hanover were allowed to succeed to the throne without opposition; on the other hand money, arms, and other things are needed, especially officers of the Army. Holland is engaged to Hanover, Louis XIV. and the King of Spain have "promised not to medle in it," and Berwick finds the English very slow and cautious. On the other hand, the Duke of Ormonde, Captain-General of the Forces, the only person who did not raise the religious difficulty, and who had pressed Oxford hard to take measures to ensure James's succession, was settling matters in the Army "in such a good manner that he hopes to secure the Restoration" in spite of Lord Oxford; he has at last "spoke plaine" to Queen Anne, and they are both agreed to bestir themselves, the Queen having given Ormonde leave to engage the Army.

Ibid. pp. 312, 317.

It is also interesting to note, in view of the Duke of Berwick's conduct the following year, that he expressed himself "as overjoyed" at the leave given him by Louis XIV. to accompany James to England or to Scotland; "his duty, his inclination, and concern for the publick good will make him alwayse ready to sacrifice his life if necessary." In May, Berwick was able to send the pleasing news by a special messenger that letters from d'Iberville and Gaultier had been received by the French Court, announcing that both Oxford and Bolingbroke had declared that after Queen Anne "they would never serve or have any master but M. Robinson [James III.]."

Ibid. p. 321.

When, on February 6, 1714, the Emperor, through Prince Eugene, had signed the Peace of Rastadt, he had expressly refused to guarantee the Protestant succession in England. Charles VI. had a personal aversion to the Elector, he had no desire for the aggrandisement of Hanover, and, as the chief Catholic power, no inclination to appear as a champion of Protestantism. He went further, and showed a disposition to accept the landless

royal exile as a brother-in-law. The negotiation was secretly carried on between Desamoise, the Duke of Lorraine's Envoy at Vienna, and the Austrian Court. The Emperor appeared to relish the proposal, wrote Desamoise, but found the present moment too critical, as well for the Chevalier as for himself, to determine anything positively. The various Archduchesses and their ages, temper, genius, and education are discussed; the Emperor's eldest niece is set aside as too young, being twelve years old, and his youngest sister, aged twenty-two, is considered the most eligible.

1714. Nairne's "Papers," Vol. IV. 4to, No. 15.

The secret leaked out, for we find the Duke of Berwick writing in May that he cannot imagine how Lord Galmoy, then at Bar, had come to know of it. Berwick, as was natural, highly approved of the match, expressing his opinion that if James "were at home, the Emperor would not only consent, but would solicit it as a great favour from your Majesty." The Elector of Bavaria, then in Paris negotiating for his own restoration, spoke of his daughter to Berwick, who returned a laughing answer: "I thought it was not convenient to tell him your Majesty would not think of his daughter."[1]

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 311.

Although Berwick slighted the Bavarian Princess, he was anxious to obtain the help of Bavaria and other German states in the matter of troops, and was preparing, with de Torcy's approval, to send Colonel Nathaniel Hooke into Germany to try to get a promise of troops, when he was himself suddenly sent into Catalonia, at the urgent request of Philip V., to besiege Barcelona, which still adhered to the Austrian succession. Berwick left St. Germains on June 23, "longing to be back," and making every arrangement he could for the transaction of business during his absence. He went with misgivings lest Queen Anne should not give them time; lest she should "tripp off" and "leave them in the lurch." Time

[1] Among other alliances, which would have been great in their consequences, a double marriage had been mooted, shortly before Princess Louise-Marie's death, between her and Charles XII. of Sweden, and between that King's sister, the Princess Ulrica, and James III.

1714. was what Bolingbroke asked for—a year's, even six week's time—and time was probably that for which the harassed and unhappy Queen yearned, in the hope that it might yet give her the opportunity of obeying the last injunctions of her father. But time was not to be accorded. It may or may not be true, that in her last hours Queen Anne murmured over and over again, as in a mournful litany, the words "my poor brother"; there seems no doubt that a troubled conscience regarding him presided at her deathbed, as it had perplexed and harassed her life. According to Carte, who had the fact from the Duke of Ormonde, the Queen made a sort of confession to the Bishop of Oxford regarding her brother; for the Bishop, on leaving her, was heard by the Duchess of Ormonde and the other ladies present to say, "Madam, I'll obey your commands. I'll declare your mind, but it will cost me my head." Whether the fear of losing his head kept the prelate silent, or whether those to whom he revealed Anne's dying wishes disregarded them, we know not; but there is no further reference to that last confession.

Carte's "Mem.-Book," Vol. XI. p. 13, Macpherson.

The genius of William III. seemed to govern the transference of power from Anne to George, as it had done that from himself to Anne; the mechanism devised by him was in good working order, and while all was confusion without, order and precision reigned in Kensington Palace.[1]

The Council sat day and night, the box was opened containing the names of the eighteen noblemen who had been appointed, with the approval of the late Queen, to act as Regents with the seven highest officers of State, and its contents were read aloud. Whigs and Tories were fairly represented, but the omission of the names of Marlborough, Wharton, and Somers caused some comment. The heralds had been notified to be at hand to proclaim the new Sovereign, and a troop of Life Guards was also ready to await commands. It is true that the

[1] Swift had described the Ministry a few weeks previously as "like a ship's crew quarrelling in a storm."

Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester.

Duke of Buckingham, as the Council broke up, clapped his hand on the Duke of Ormonde's shoulder and said, "My Lord, you have twenty-four hours' time to do our business in, and make yourself master of the kingdom." Ormonde, invincibly modest by nature, according to Swift, amiable and lovable, was not gifted with the qualities of rapid decision and self-reliant boldness required in a king-maker. He too might have pleaded lack of time, and that the changes among the officers in the Army he had been making were but half complete. He hesitated and refrained, although Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, offered to head the procession in his lawn sleeves to proclaim James III. at Charing Cross, passionately exclaiming with an oath, upon Bolingbroke's refusal, "There is the best cause in Europe lost for want of spirit." And Bothmar, who had lately returned to England, was able to write to Robethon a short and exultant note :— 1714.

August $\frac{1}{12}$.

". . . The Queen died this morning . . . our master was proclaimed without difficulty. I wish we may have him soon here. . . ."

The Duke of Berwick, in his camp before Barcelona, received the news with dismay, knowing James's unpreparedness, and fearing— "Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 333.

"that Hanover, the Whiggs, Lord Churchill, and the Treasurer have taken their measures. One would even think that the fitt of apoplexy is not naturall, for a little before Lord Churchill and Bothmar arrive in England. The Treasurer is as great a villain as Lord Sunderland was."[1]

The moment James III. heard of his sister's death he started for Paris with only two attendants ; after sending the news to the Duke of Lorraine, who, in an affectionate valedictory letter, approved the step as the only proper course, and expressed the hope that the King of France, rendered

[1] Berwick's apprehension of foul play extended to the person of James himself. In a previous letter he alludes to the ill-design of some villains, and exhorts him when going to church or a-walking "to goe a little saufly, that your people may have time and leggs to accompany you." He even wished that James had "three or four guards to waite on you as courtiers when you stirr out of your house."

1714. free by the death of Queen Anne, from his engagements—which had been contracted with her personally—would consider himself at liberty to grant the essential succours of money, ships, and the British troops in the French service "which would not alarm any one in England, whereas French troops certainly would." The letter ends:—

> "I can do nothing now, but pray God to bless your undertaking, and to preserve your health; beseeching you, sir, to grant me your protection, and to be persuaded of my zeal, which will not cease but with my life. LEOPOLD."

James repaired secretly to the village of Chaillot, where the Duc de Lauzun had taken a house for him in his own name, and where, after two years' separation, he found the Queen his mother at the convent. There de Torcy brought him Louis XIV.'s answer to the message which had been conveyed by Madame de Maintenon, an answer very different in tenour from what the Duc de Lorraine had predicted. Old age, family affliction, an empty exchequer, and an exhausted and famine-stricken people, had deprived the King of France of all inclination for a sudden and hazardous undertaking.

Upon this answer, to which de Torcy added that if the step became known it would be prejudicial to Louis XIV. and his subjects, without benefiting him in any way, James immediately withdrew and returned to Lorraine, where on August 29 he issued a protestation, dated from Plombières, and written in French and English, against the accession of his rival. A genealogical tree was annexed showing how remotely the House of Hanover was connected with that of England, and that there were no less than fifty-seven persons with a better right to the throne than the Elector.[1]

In England, Parliament, which met on the day of Queen Anne's death, proceeded at once to issue a reward of £100,000 for the arrest of the Pretender "in case he shall land or attempt to land in any of His Majesty's

[1] Copies of this protestation were sent to all the English Ministers (Hoffman).

Dominions." The last clause of the Proclamation was especially addressed to James's friends: "And if any of the persons who have Adhered to or Assisted, or who shall Adhere to or Assist the said Pretender shall Seize and Secure him . . . he or they . . . shall have His Majesty's Gracious General Pardon, and shall also Receive the said Reward. . . ." 1714.

The document was signed by "Thos. Cantuar, Harcourt, C. W. Ebor, Shrewsbury, Buckingham, E. Dartmouth, Somerset, Bolton, Devonshire, Argyle, Montrose, Roxburghe, Kent, Pembroke, Carlisle, Anglesey, Nottingham, Abingdon, Scarborough, Oxford, Townshend, Halifax, Cowper, T. Parker." Parliament then adjourned for a month, by which time it was expected the new monarch would have arrived to take possession of his dominions.

George I. landed at Greenwich at six o'clock in the evening of the 29th September, the Archbishop of Canterbury offering him his hand to alight; and on the 1st October made his entry into London at two o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by the Prince his son [who was declared Prince of Wales two days later] and followed by 250 carriages, the greater part of them drawn by six horses. The Lord Mayor met him at Southwark and preceded him to St. James's Palace. At nightfall there were fireworks and illuminations. The people showed no enthusiasm; on the contrary, they threw halters into Harcourt's carriage, they raised cries of "St. George for England, no Hanover, down with the Roundheads," and the ladies George brought with him were hooted for their ugliness by the beauty-loving English populace. Faction and lust of power are mighty forces, religious hate a greater still, and yet the gorge of many an Englishman rose—even among those who had signed the Proclamation setting £100,000 on the Pretender's head—at the prospect of bowing the knee to a German king of England, so remote in his connection with the royal blood, evil of reputation and of character, with no trait of what Englishmen seek in their kings, and who had not paid them the compliment of learning a word of their language.

1714-15. Dark stories were abroad of Sophia Dorothea, his hapless wife, immured in so hard a durance that it excited the pity of her gaolers, forbidden even to see her children during the long years of her imprisonment; her constant piteous plea for some alleviation to her lot met with cold refusal, by the husband who was himself a standing example of that conjugal infidelity, the suspicion of which — for there were no proofs at the time — he punished in her with life-long imprisonment.

George I. began to reward the Whigs, and to punish the Tories, before setting foot in England. He wrote from the Hague, where an English squadron had been sent to fetch him, that the Seals should be taken from Bolingbroke, and his first act was to appoint a Whig ministry with Townshend at its head.[1] It is not surprising that there should have been fierce tumults in many places, notably at Bristol, then the second city in importance after London; the coronation day especially was signalised by riots and bloodshed in Chester, Lancaster, York, and many other towns; and by a dire accident at Westminster itself, where several scaffoldings loaded with spectators gave way, and many were killed and wounded. The people of Whitechapel assaulted a preacher who had condemned the former government in his sermon, tore his gown from his back, and made him fly for his life. On Lord Mayor's Day there were riots in Pall Mall, and on the 1st December James III. was proclaimed in several parts of Devonshire and other counties; while so many clergymen refrained from praying for the new monarch and his family, that strict orders had to be sent, December 20, to every parish in London enjoining them to do so. The state of public feeling is reflected in Charles Leslie's letter, dated New Year's Day 1715, to Dr. Burnet, who had preached against the Pretender:—

[1] James Stanhope was made one of the Secretaries of State, Robert Walpole, Paymaster of the Forces, and Marlborough, Captain-General of the Army. Nottingham alone among Hanoverian Tories remained in office, but was turned out at the first opportunity.

"... As soon as this long-desired House [Hanover] came into England, even upon the bloody Coronation Day, such a general Disgust and Contempt of the new King appeared all over the Nation, that History, perhaps, cannot afford such another Instance. And whether the Method of Severity now taken and most agreeable to the Despotic Government he has us'd in his own Country will mend or marr the Matter, time must show. . . ." 1714-15.

This view is corroborated in a letter from London which, after describing George's "airs of frugality," says they are "expressed in so low a fashion, that there are few, even of the meanest rank, but conceit themselves much better qualify'd for a great station." The writer also alludes to the *Flying Post*, the Whig paper, "fill'd with complaints of this Jacobite Mob, as he calls it, from one end of the country to the other." "Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 335.

From one end of the country to the other the discontents, even the disgusts, were the same, and once again the lack of a leader was the ruin of the Jacobite cause. Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Ormonde, from different motives had let their opportunities slip, and Bolingbroke, deprived of the Seals he had held for little more than a month, was living in retirement, and growing daily more convinced—now that it was too late—that the great majority, according to his own account, of his party and of the people would prefer James III., in spite of his religion, to the Hanoverian king.

James's own going to Paris had been a forlorn hope, and to have pushed on to England without help or succour from France, would have been an act of chivalrous madness, to which his own party would never have consented. The Duke of Berwick, the only man who could have served him, only returned from his brilliant campaign in Barcelona at the end of the year, and one of the first persons to enter into correspondence with him from England was the Duke of Marlborough, who had returned thither with a pompous entry into London, upon Queen Anne's death. Berwick made instant application, with James's consent and the approbation of their own officers represented by Lord Newcastle and Colonel O'Donnell, that the five Irish regiments of foot in the French service

1715. should not, according to Philip V.'s request to his grandfather, be allowed to go and serve in Spain. They will be more at hand in France "in case either King falls out with England; for whilst the peace lasts neither will allow them to follow your Majesty."

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 336.

While trying to get into contact with the English fleet, and continuing his intercourse with the Duke of Ormonde through Carte, who describes his patron "as firm as a rock," and with Harcourt, Bolingbroke, and Marlborough through Lady Jersey and Tunstall, Berwick follows up the idea of a marriage with an Austrian Arch-Duchess. "It is the general discourse in England," he writes, and that he wishes it were true, and proposes that the good offices of the Duke of Lorraine should be again invoked. Like the rest of his race, James made good looks an essential qualification in a wife; and Berwick, whose own two wives, Honoria Burke and Anne Bulkeley —*la belle Nannette*—were famous beauties, admits the importance of the point, though he urges that "if the Emperor's sisters be any way passable . . . I should be for taking one of them"; and again, with reference to a match proposed by the Pope, he prefers the Austrian alliance: "I am assured there is a sister of not above five or six and twenty; if that be so, and that she be not horrible, I could hartily wish M. Robinson (James) had her, for I do not see anything at present so much for his advantage . . . for to hasten the recovery of his paternal estate."

Ibid. pp. 340, 343.

Ormonde and the Scotch are to be brought to act conjointly, and Berwick has hopes that the former may take measures to secure Portsmouth, the Tower of London, and Berwick's "own town, which could be of good service. I own I never saw so fair a prospect, but Orbec [Ormonde] must speak plain and immediately." Queen Mary of Modena sent a sum of money to Ormonde which Berwick hopes "will stirr him up more than abundance of compliments."

Ibid. pp. 345, 346, 347.

Ormonde's answer made the sending of troops with James an essential part of any project for his restoration;

Ibid. p. 348.

but although Louis XIV. consented to allow arms to be purchased, Berwick was compelled to admit that an army "was a thing which at this time [March 1715] could not possibly be compassed." Nevertheless he leaves no stone unturned, and, in concert with the Queen, sends Sir John Forester to Spain, Colonel O'Rourke to Vienna, especially for the marriage project, and Colonel Hooke into Holland, while messengers are constantly going to and from Scotland. There is a *P.S.* to one of Berwick's letters which will find an echo in the mind of those who read their correspondence: "I beginn to fancy your Majesty writes as little legible as myself." 1715.

The Duke of Ormonde sent Mr. Cameron, who figures as "sword in hand," the Cameron crest, to James at Bar, who in a holograph letter assures the Duke that nothing could be more welcome than the fresh assurances under his own hand of the continuance of his goodwill and application:—

> "We must not see ourselves tamely debarred for ever from being able to support our cause, and, on some occasions, one must risk all for all. I shall expect with impatience to hear from you the opinions of our lawyers, and am on my side getting as much as I can of what you recommended to me, and in which I hope I shall not be disappointed. . . . I shall be always ready on a call to come to you. I will be guided in all things by your advice, and I have not words to express the deep sense I have of your generous and disinterested behaviour towards me, who desire nothing more than to be able to do for you all that your own heart can wish or desire. . . ."

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 352.

A few days later, at Berwick's suggestion, a commission was drawn up of Captain-General of the Forces for Ormonde, to extend to the three kingdoms; power to borrow money in England was also sent to him.

Meanwhile great events were happening in England. Lord Oxford was sent to the Tower in March, where he was to remain for two years awaiting trial, with leisure to reflect on the dangers of procrastination; Bolingbroke, less courageous, fled to France. In sending news of his arrival to James, Berwick expresses his belief that he may prove useful, and that Ormonde will soon, whether he will or no, be forced to take some measures for his own

Ibid. p. 357.

1715. preservation, and Berwick hopes he will "stand butt" to the Elector of Hanover.

Bolingbroke made great protestations to the Duke of Berwick of zeal for James's service, proposing to return to England, as he could then "not only advise but act." He described Ormonde as "honest, brave, popular, and willing, but must be guided by some wise people, to which effect he will write to the Bishop of Rochester, Lord Lansdowne, and Sir William Wyndham. . . . He is violent for the prerogative, and never said a word of religion. He press'd M. Raucourt's (James's) marrying."

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 362.

With respect to the last article James wrote back that since Bolingbroke was so much for the marriage, why should he not go to Blois, a fine, pleasant country, and see "pretty Miss [daughter of Prince James Sobiesky], and of even negociating that affaire if t' other failes, as I believe it will, after what I acquainted the Queen with some days ago."

Bolingbroke, whose continued presence in Paris was not considered advisable, retired to Orleans, where he kept up a constant secret correspondence with de Torcy and with Berwick.

If there was a Prince fit for the chivalrous enterprise of restoring a rightful monarch to his throne, it was the brilliant "madman of Europe," Charles XII. of Sweden. He had no love for Hanover, against whom it was thought likely he would soon go to war on the question of the Duchies of Bremen and Werden, which, ceded to Sweden in 1648 by the Treaty of Westphalia, had been seized, together with Schleswig and Holstein, by Frederick IV. of Denmark, after Charles's defeat at Pultava by Peter the Great. When, in November 1714, Charles XII. suddenly reappeared at Stralsund after his five years' absence among the Turks, the King of Denmark, in order to save his nearer conquests, gave up Bremen and Werden to George of Hanover; who, with his newly acquired authority as King of England, guaranteed the possession of Holstein to Frederick IV. But Charles XII. was not the man tamely to acquiesce in such an arrange-

ment; and the Jacobite party in England, presuming he would soon feel called upon to attack the House of Hanover, approached his envoy in London, Count Gyllemborg, early in 1715 with proposals to furnish the King of Sweden with a large sum of money if he would take up the cause of the "young man from Lorraine." 1715.

Although Baron von Müllern, the King's plenipotentiary at Stockholm, discountenanced the idea, it was warmly taken up by Baron Goertz, Charles's Finance Minister, and representative at the Hague, and by Baron de Spaar, Swedish Ambassador in Paris. The Duke of Berwick, at first inclined to treat the scheme as chimerical, calling it in a letter in March "a farfetch business" that he will allow to go on because it will not stop other proceedings, and that Charles XII., being a firm Protestant, would act as a kind of guarantee of James's promises concerning religion, writes with greater confidence three months later, finding that neither de Torcy nor Spaar "thinks it a vision." Again, in July, he finds Spaar convinced that his master will put the project immediately into execution by sending an army straight to England, Berwick suggesting Newcastle as the fittest port to make for, as James will by then be in Scotland. James is to write at once to Charles XII., and money, to be borrowed from the King of France and in England, is to be sent to him forthwith.[1]

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 351.

Queen Mary of Modena was at this time with her son, having, under the pretext of taking the waters of Plombières, joined him at Commercy in June. Lord Stair, who had replaced Matthew Prior as English representative in Paris upon George I.'s accession, immediately sent a trusted spy to Lorraine, set another to observe Lord Bolingbroke, and instructed Abbé Dubois, apparently in his pay, "to be particularly careful in informing himself of the Pretender's designs, and how far the Court meddled with him."

That James III. was getting into a fever of impatience

[1] The sum of 50,000 crowns was sent to Charles XII. at this time.

1715. was plain by his letters to Bolingbroke, urging him not to lose a moment in coming to him at Bar, and to Berwick, sending him the letter for the King of Sweden :—

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 373.

"I can add no more until this promised messenger comes, after which I hope in God I may soon be able to part myself. . . . I see no reason for thinking matters seem to lagg in England, for I cannot conceive anything wanting but my presence in the island. Therefore neither time nor money must be spared that I may be once sett a flotte. . . ."

He even writes, July 19, to Bolingbroke, upon receipt of a message from the Duke of Ormonde, that he means to leave for Dieppe on the 28th, and desires Bolingbroke, who had returned to Paris after a short visit to Bar, to meet him there on the 30th. Before he could start, however, fresh delay was caused by the Duke of Berwick declaring it would be fatal to start before hearing again from Ormonde, "who will be very much puzzled if you give him not time to dispose and order all things." The money, without which Ormonde had declared he could do nothing, will only reach him next week.

Ibid. p. 376.

"He must then send for the agents and give them instructions. . . . All this cannot be done by the day appointed. . . . I humbly offer to Your Majesty that you must fix a more competent time. . . . My health is but indifferent, I am doing what I can to be well, that I may be in a condition to act as my hart wishes. . . ."

The French Court had raised difficulties about Berwick's following James to England, and the latter was inclined to think that Berwick himself was not disposed to do so. He answers him, July 23 :—

Ibid.

". . . In acting as your heart wishes you will certainly act as I could wish, for, after all, differing your journey eight days after me, is putting yourself in great danger of never getting over at all. . . . You know what you owe to me, what you owe to your own reputation and honour, what you have promised to the Scotch and to me, of what vast consequence your accompanying of me is, and at the same time none can know as well as yourself what Mr. Rose's [Louis XIV.'s] intentions are at bottom, and what he thinks in his conscience and in his heart. All this being, I cannot but persuade myself you will take on this occasion the right partie, and it would be doing you wrong to think otherwise. . . ."

Bolingbroke's response to James's order to meet him at Dieppe was the often-quoted letter pointing out "the mischiefs and the causes of them under which your service labours," that "women over their tea" were talking of the arms provided and the ships being got ready, that Lord Stair had sent advice of the little armament home, and that the English Court was resolved to connive until the enterprise should be gone into, and made no doubt of crushing the whole at once. He further declared that things were not ripe in England, that the secret was divulged, and that Louis XIV. had not yet spoken clearly as to what he was prepared to do. The whole correspondence between Bar and Paris goes to prove that the delays and the indecision for which James has often been blamed, emanated from the latter place. The uncertainties under which her son chafed were equally vexatious to the Queen. She cannot believe, she writes in a letter to Dicconson from Bar early in August, that all this shyness and all these delays come from any ill-will, but "without it be perishing in the attempt, I know nothing so bad as all these uncertainties that cause endless delays, which will at last (and I fear very soon) make the game desperate."

1715.

Nairne "Papers," Bodleian.

The accounts of the feeling in England that reached Bar, and as we can read them to-day in the reports of the French and Italian agents, were calculated to increase James's belief, expressed in a letter to the Duke of Berwick, that his presence in England was the only thing wanting to ensure his success. On St. George's Day 10,000 people drank his health in London, where great bonfires blazed all over the town; King George "had a health to mount him for his home" before he was burned in effigy on Snow Hill together with William III. and Cromwell; every window not illuminated was broken, no house being more "terribly mauled" than that of the Lord Mayor, who was a noted Whig; and fires and accidents, as well as the total eclipse of the sun on St. George's Eve, were looked upon as judgments for keeping the lawful heir out of the throne, "so that were he alone in England noe man would dare touch him." The very lackeys waiting

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 385.

1715. for their masters outside the Houses of Parliament, chose speakers, Whig and Tory, made harangues and fought to bloodshed, and until they were by force dispersed. There were tumults in Birmingham and in London in May; 150 gentlemen on horseback proclaimed James III. at Manchester; and in June, in spite of the rigorous precautions taken, the London streets were filled with clamorous throngs crying "Ormonde," "the Church," "James is the rightful King." At Oxford the tumults lasted two days, and at Leeds, by order of the magistrates, the bells were rung on James's birthday, the 21st, from dawn until midnight, with bonfires and great rejoicings, but no disorder, and the same in Manchester. In July a Riot Act was passed, and on August 8 George I. issued a proclamation ordering all Papists to withdraw to a distance of ten miles from London, under pain of having the penal laws enforced against them. The frays and tumults were continual, and the prisons were full to overflowing.[1]

Archives Affaires Étrangères.

There is a letter from Bolingbroke, who was now James's Secretary of State, to de Torcy, dated August 20, which is an impassioned appeal for 2000 men—"for the want of so small a succour shall we lose so good an occasion?" He asks but for "the tenth part of the money, the troops, which the States-General in a very delicate conjuncture for themselves furnished to the Prince of Orange," and he beseeches him *à mains jointes* to press Prince Cellamare, the Spanish Ambassador, for a favourable answer from Spain. A few days later the Duke of Berwick, writing to inform de Torcy that the Duke of Marlborough had sent another £2000 for the King's service, remarks: "This gives me great hope, considering the character of my uncle, who is not wont to scatter his money thus, unless he foresees that it will prove of some utility."

In the meanwhile the Duke of Ormonde, instead of "standing butt to the Elector of Hanover," as Berwick

[1] Gyllemborg, in a letter to Baron von Müllern, says a revolution in England seems inevitable by reason of the indescribable hatred and contempt entertained for the Hanover family and the Ministry.

had hoped, fled from England and arrived in Paris early in August. His first intention of going straight to Bar was overruled by Berwick, Bolingbroke, and de Torcy, "as he could not make the journey without it being known, and it would give a new handle to the Whiggs to make a noise, and even to clapp up many honest men, who by that will become incapable of doing any service." In the same letter, August 13, Berwick announces that the French Court is at last entering heartily into the business, that ships are being got ready, and a courier has been sent to the King of Spain for money and arms. Then comes the sentence—"I like not M. Rethel's [Louis XIV.'s] state of health." The courier carried a letter from Louis XIV. to his grandson, recommending his adopted son, as he called James; and, under the pressure of Berwick and Bolingbroke, he gave orders for the armament of 10,000 men. Bolingbroke refers at greater length to Louis XIV.'s state of health:—

1715. "Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 389.

Lémontey's "Histoire de la Régence."

> "It is hardly possible to conceive more alteration for the worse in four or five days. He may fall at once, or he may hold out for some time. But I protest I do not see which of the two cases is for Your Majesty's service most to be apprehended. An event so important as his death might shuffle the cards which are pack'd against you, and produce a run of good fortune. . . . Whereas it is evident that whilst his servants are in daily expectation of so great a turn at home, they will not cast an eye abroad, nor make any step of consequence."

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 390.

Queen Mary of Modena left Bar immediately upon receipt of the news of the French King's illness; and her son, writing to the Duke of Berwick that in the event of his going to Scotland he thinks he should require the Duke of Marlborough's attendance, which "would of necessity oblige him to pull off the mask and trim no longer," rejoices at seeing so many great men "now in a manner openly for me. . . . I shall add no more here, but that I think it more than ever *now or never*." He writes in the same strain to Bolingbroke, urging that Louis XIV.'s state of health seems a new and strong reason for pressing matters without delay, and that if his friends in Paris are not unanimous in their opinion, he

Ibid. p. 399.

1715. thinks it absolutely necessary that Ormonde and Bolingbroke should come to him at once. "By letters all is obscure, and explications cannot be asked without great delays."

If James III. was free from the reproach of indecision and delay; at the same time, so long as the necessary succour of a small body of troops remained unattainable, the hesitation of Berwick with his consummate military experience, and of Bolingbroke and Ormonde with their intimate knowledge of English affairs, is explicable; the more so if we bear in mind that William of Orange himself, with a fleet superior to that of England, with a body of 10,000 seasoned troops, and the exchequer of Holland to draw upon, expressed the doubts and misgivings which appear in his letters to Bentinck before starting on his enterprise in 1688. It is therefore not surprising to find Bolingbroke describing Louis XIV.'s illness as a terrible *contretemps*, their friends in England having counted upon being "back'd by his purse, authority, and force." He further describes affairs as in such a state of uncertainty, that James can only keep every negotiation which promises anything on foot, and be ready to push his interest "when time and accidents enable you to judge with some assurance where that interest lies."

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Vol. I. p. 403.

Bolingbroke had been approached by the Duke of Orleans' mistress, Madame de Tencin, with a suggestion of a marriage between the Duke's daughter and James; the latter asked Bolingbroke's advice on the subject, who replied that he "will keep the ball in the air, without engaging you in the least to play the game." He further says that he thinks the alliance would disgust the English, unless they saw themselves secure of Orleans's assistance, and undone without it. With regard to James's desire that he and the Duke of Ormonde should repair to Bar, Bolingbroke objects that they both have very large estates, "which lye almost att mercy," and though neither of them would hesitate a moment "if it be of consequence to break through all the measures taken to save some part of them," it is more for the King's service that they should do

nothing which could give a pretence that their party cannot avow their cause, and their correspondence with them. These precautions were vain; a few days later Ormonde and Bolingbroke were attainted and their estates confiscated. This treatment of the Duke of Ormonde was greatly resented in the army; officers and men were thrown into prison in different parts of the country for drinking his health and that of the Chevalier, while the first two men to suffer under the new Riot Act were hanged at Worcester. 1715.

Louis XIV. died on September 1; thus for the second time in thirteen months did fortune flout the schemes of Bolingbroke, and the hopes of James's restoration. Louis XIV.'s personal conduct towards the exiled Stuarts is perhaps the most exalted example of magnificent and tactful royal hospitality recorded in history. That his plans for their restoration were marked with failure seems mainly due to the fact that they ever formed a partial, and never the sole object of any of his political schemes. Even before James II.'s fall, a secret instinct appeared to work behind his open and ostensible behaviour, either to force James into alliance with him in despite of the Treaty of Nimeguen; or, when that failed, to let England be the scene of a struggle with the Prince of Orange, which would free him from that most dangerous enemy. The secret orders he sent to Boulogne that even if James's Queen, on her arrival there in her flight, were to be summoned back to England, it was still his intention that she should be conducted to Vincennes, "*par tous les pretextes les plus honnêtes que vous pouvez vous imaginer*," prove beyond a doubt the ulterior motives of his policy, as did his desire that James II. on going into Ireland might forget he had ever been King of England; while the constant aim of creating "a diversion in Scotland," which underlay his policy with regard to James's son, carried him to the length of acquiescing in the substitution of the Duke of Hamilton for the Stuart. Had Louis XIV. ever consented to make peace with the rest of Europe for the short space of time necessary for the restoration of either

Affaires Étrangères.

1715. James, it can hardly be doubted that he would have succeeded; but the boundless ambition to be "master of all" bred a vast and cumbrous policy which eventually fell to pieces by its own weight, carrying with it the fortunes of the Stuarts.

Immediately upon Louis XIV.'s death James wrote urgently, but unavailingly, to Bolingbroke to come to him, secretly, for a few days in order to concert measures in the new state of affairs; and in writing to the Duke of Lorraine that the change of government in France must necessarily, however strong his own inclination to the contrary, suspend his resolutions with regard to England, he tells him of the Queen his mother's satisfactory interview with the Regent Orleans, who had given her "all possible expressions of friendship and civility." James had reason to hope that the Regent, who had made overtures to him for a marriage with his daughter, would stand his friend; but that prince's accession to power—which he signalised by annulling, with the help of the parliament of Paris, the clause in Louis XIV.'s will giving the guardianship of the infant King to the Duc de Maine—was the opportunity of George I.

Abbé Dubois has generally been credited as the author of the close alliance and mutual compact between George I. and the Regent to support each other against the Pretender, and against Philip V. of Spain in the event of the death of the five-year-old Louis XV.—"one usurper," as Saint-Simon dryly remarks, "being bound to support another usurper." But George I., as has lately been shown, was himself the author of that compact.[1] Lord Stair, the English Ambassador in Paris, was charged, immediately upon Louis XIV.'s death, to deliver a Memoir to the Regent, in which, after a long complaint of the late King's friendly attitude towards the Pretender, and of the continued sojourn of the latter in Lorraine, George I. urges the necessity of sending him across the Alps. If the Regent is inclined to go further, George is ready to guarantee his succession to the crown of France as settled

Pub. Rec. Off., France, 160.

[1] *Le Régent, l'Abbé Dubois et les Anglais*, L. Wiesener.

by the Treaty of Utrecht, and Orleans is at the same time to guarantee the Protestant succession in England. The point is further insisted upon in a despatch a few weeks later from Lord Stanhope:— 1715.

> "You are particularly directed to be very easy in whatsoever may be proposed by the Regent for effectually securing of himself in the quiet enjoyment of the Regency during the King's minority, and for the securing the Crown of France to him in case of failure of the present King."

The Treaty of Utrecht had decreed the renunciation by Philip of Anjou, as King of Spain, to the crown of France; but the successive death of two Dauphins had left him next heir after Louis XV., and it was generally held that in the event of the little King's death, he would renounce the throne of Spain for that of France. Saint-Simon, the close and intimate friend of the Duke of Orleans, expressed the general feeling of the country when he told the Duke that in that case he would leave him *avec larmes*, and would join the King of Spain. Thus the Regent hesitated; incited on the one hand by the old Court, Jacobite to a man, and inclined towards James in order to obtain a royal marriage for his daughter, he was tempted by the alliance with George I., which would mean stability for himself, and much-needed peace and tranquillity for France.

CHAPTER VII

1715. THE news of Louis XIV.'s illness had not reached London when John Erskine, Earl of Mar, who had already thrice turned his coat, turned it once again—and not for the last time—by hastening in disguise to Scotland, after attending a levee of George I.'s; and the French King's death was unknown to him when, on September 6, he raised the royal standard at Braemar, and proclaimed James VIII. King of Scotland. This ignorance clears Lord Mar of some part of the blame due to that premature and unconcerted act, the tidings of which drew from Lord Bolingbroke a clear and concise *exposé* of the state of affairs in a letter to Mar of the 20th September:—

> " . . . I have not been idle, and if the French King had lived, we should have obtained some assistance directly, much more indirectly, and a great many facilities by connivance, though even this was thought unattainable when I first came to Paris; but the case is altered, he is dead, and the Regent is in quite other dispositions. . . .
>
> " I now most heartily wish the King had gone away two months ago with the few arms and little money which he then had. . . . I know you will do our Master justice on this head; his friends in Scotland were ready, but his friends in England desired besides succours of several kinds a longer time to prepare. . . . Much against his inclination he was prevail'd upon to defer his embarcation, which is now grown difficult beyond expression. . . .
>
> " Sir George Byng is come into the road of Havre, and has demanded by name the ships on which are some arms and store. The Regent has indeed not thought fit to give them up, but he has sent down orders to unload them, and has promised that they shall not go out. After this I leave you to judge how easy it will be for the King to get off with the Regent's knowledge, and how safe for him without it. We are taking, however, measures to find a passage for him, and how hazardous soever the attempt may be, nothing but impossibility will stop him.

"We hear you are in arms, and you easily judge this motive sufficient to carry us to all that men can do. But we do not yet know, which is a most uncomfortable consideration, what our friends in England will resolve to do, now Hanover has an army, more money, the Habeas Corpus Act suspended, and a friend at the head of this Government. . . . 1715.

"I cannot conclude this letter without summing up the present state of the King's affairs, according to the light I see them in, . . . for I write to a man of sense, a man of honour, and a friend. Instead of having a ship furnished by France . . . the whole coast from Scotland to Spain is against us, and unless the King steal off unknown, which appears to me almost impossible, considering the extent of country he must traverse and the vigilance which is used in every part of France, he will either be seized or betrayed. The troops we hoped for from Sweden are refused . . . the money we expected from Spain is, in my opinion, still in the clouds. . . . In a word, every resource has failed us, and every accident which we could apprehend has fallen out. . . .

"I must therefore be of opinion that a more fatall conjuncture can never happen, and that the attempt can probably end in nothing but the ruin of our cause for ever. . . . But if our friends are not in a condition to wait without submitting and giving up the cause entirely and for ever, desperate as I think the attempt is, it must be made; and dying for dying, it is better to dye warm and at once of a feavour than to pine away with a consumption."

Invested at Stralsund, Charles XII. could but inform the Duke of Berwick that he was unable to spare troops for an expedition to England, returning at the same time the 50,000 crowns which had been sent to him for that purpose. James, writing to Bolingbroke on the subject, says he never had a good opinion of their expectations from Sweden,

"though to do everybody justice I must confess that King's reply is both reasonable and unanswerable . . . every post brings some ill news or other, all hopes of foreign help are extinguished . . . and our endeavours and pains are in a measure lost—'tis all rowing against the tide; but yet this . . . doth but confirm me in my opinion of a present undertaking, for I cannot but see that affairs grow dayly worse and worse by delays, and that as the business is now more difficult than it was six months ago, so those difficultys will in all humane appearance rather increase than diminish. Violent diseases must have violent remedys, and to use none has in some cases the same effect as to use bad ones. . . ."[1] "Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 426.

[1] The same letter rebutts the Duke of Berwick's inaccurate statement (unsupported by any other evidence) that James had sent secret orders to Lord Mar to commence hostilities.—*Calendar Stuart Papers*, Windsor, vol. i. p. 424.

1715. The days of delay had at last come to an end; and failing all the succours which they had certainly done their utmost to obtain, the Duke of Berwick and Lord Bolingbroke determined to fall in with James's often-expressed intention to act without further negotiation. The Duke of Berwick writes on September 29 that Lord Bolingbroke has sent to prepare a vessel,

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Vol. I. p. 428.

> "and, as soon as it is ready, I do humbly conceive your Majesty ought to lose no time. None can follow you, for fear of making a noise that may stop your journey. Ormonde, Bolingbroke, Leeds, Sheldon and Cammock must find ways to meet you on the sea-side, and when your Majesty is seal'd [sailed] all others must make the best of their way to several ports, and gett ships to carry them over to Scotland. Belley [Berwick] would faine part at first, but Fredeling's [France's] present master seems not willing to allow it. . . ."

The last words foreshadowed the greatest blow which was to fall upon the Stuart cause—the defection of the Duke of Berwick. From the year 1708, the constant demand of the Scots had been that he, one of the greatest captains of his day,—held in the estimation of the French on a par with Turenne—should command them in their struggle to restore their King. All jealousies and contentions of rival chiefs would have vanished at his presence, he was "feared and respected," and, as we have seen, Charles Fleming had not dared to tell them in 1708 that Marshal Matignon, and not he, was to command that expedition. Many more would have joined the royal standard upon his appearance, and there can be no doubt that the Scots, under such a leader, would have swept the Duke of Argyle and his feeble force into the sea. Berwick's position was a difficult one; he was a naturalised Frenchman, a Marshal of France and, as he expressed it in a letter to Lord Mar, he could not "desert like a trooper" in the face of the Regent's refusal to grant him leave to accept James's commission appointing him Commander of his forces in Scotland. On the other hand, the Jacobites, from James and Queen Mary of Modena downwards, held that his accompanying his rightful sovereign was—in the words of Abbé Lewis Inese, Rector of the

Scotch College in Paris and the Queen's Almoner—"an indispensable obligation upon him as a subject, from which, when required, no power on earth could dispense him"; and his refusal, expressed in the first instance in a somewhat curt note to Bolingbroke, was deeply resented. To James he wrote that he had consulted

1715. Stuart "Papers," Windsor, May 16, 1729.

> "men of sense, able lawyers, and casuistes, with a full resolution to goe as farr for your Majesty's service as I can in honour and conscience, but I find the reason alleged against my leaving France without the Regent's leave so strong, that it is with the deepest concern I am forced to ask your Majesty's pardon for not complying with your Majesty's commands . . . if by my importunity or your Majesty's solicitations I can obtaine a leave I so heartily desire, I shall that instant repair neare your person or your army. . . ."

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 451.

The bitterness of disappointment stung James into almost the only departure, in his immense correspondence, from the tone of high and fair-minded courtesy which ever distinguished it:—"I shall write to him no more," he says in a letter to Bolingbroke, "and must suffer the humiliation of courting a disobedient subject and a bastard too, rather than risk anything in the main point." At the same time James determined to show his appreciation of Lord Mar's enterprise by giving him the title of Duke and withdrawing the restriction that he should act by the advice of Earl Marischal and others:—"for 'tis but reasonable he should have the honour of ending alone what he has so successfully begun."

Ibid. p. 443.

The Highland gentlemen who, under the pretence of a hunting-party, had joined Mar at Braemar were the Marquis of Huntly, eldest son of the Duke of Gordon; the Marquis of Tullibardine, eldest son of the Duke of Athole; the Earls of Nithsdale, Marischal, Traquair, Errol, Southesk, Carnwath, Seaforth, Linlithgow, and several others; the Viscounts Kilsyth, Kenmure, Kingston, and Stormont; the Lords Rollo, Duffus, Drummond, Strathallan, Ogilvie, and Nairne; the two Generals Hamilton and Gordon, Glendarule, Auldbar, Auchterhouse, Glengarry, and others from the clans. An omen which did not escape the notice of the superstitious, was the falling off of the ball at the

"Compleat History of late Rebellion," London, 1716.

1715. top of the royal standard at the moment it was set up. James VIII. was then proclaimed at Aberdeen by Earl Marischal, at Dunkeld by Tullibardine, at Brechin by the Earl of Panmure, at Perth by Colonel Balfour and Lieut.-Colonel Hay, brother of Lord Kinnoull and of Lord Mar's first wife. The Marquis of Huntly proclaimed the King at Castle Gordon, and Southesk at Montrose; Graham of Dunthorne proclaimed him at Dundee, and Brigadier MacIntosh at the head of 500 men, finding the important pass of Inverness without a garrison, took possession of it in the name of the King, afterwards leaving Sir John Mackenzie of Coul, Governor of the place.

While these measures were being taken, a yet bolder scheme, that of seizing Edinburgh Castle, was devised by the Marquis of Drummond, eldest son of the Duke of Perth, and one Arthur, formerly an ensign in the Scots Guards, and actually in the Castle. Arthur had gained a sergeant and two privates, who had agreed to draw up some rope-ladders near the Sally-port on the west side of the wall, when they should be on guard there.[1] Fifty determined men were then to escalade the wall and seize the fortress; signals were contrived which should carry the news to the Earl of Mar, who would then come and possess himself of the town. Lord Drummond chose the fifty men out of his own clan, and the King's friends in Edinburgh offered to add an equal number of volunteers. This led to misfortune. Eighteen of them, young men with more valour than discretion, met at a tavern the very night of the enterprise, and talked so openly that every person in the house was made aware of it. Arthur had also unluckily confided the secret to his brother, who desired to share in the attempt; but when the moment drew near Dr. Arthur was seized with so much perturbation that his wife, remarking it, plied him with questions until he confessed the whole plot to her. No sooner mistress of

[1] The sergeant, William Ainsley (who was hanged, December 1716) had been promised a lieutenancy, and the two sentinels, the one eight guineas and the other four guineas. The latter confessed there were about 80 engaged besides officers.—*Rae's History.*

the secret, Mrs. Arthur sent an anonymous letter to Sir Adam Cockburn, Lord Justice-Clerk, who immediately passed on the news to Colonel Stuart, deputy Governor of the Castle. 1715.

At the appointed time, eleven o'clock at night, the escalading party met in a churchyard and proceeded to the foot of the ramparts. They had only a part of the rope-ladders, the man who had made them having promised to bring the remainder; upon his non-appearance they began to climb up the rocks under the spot where the confederate sentry was placed. He called to them to make haste, as he was to be relieved at midnight. MacGregor of Balhady, the chief of the party, thereupon threw him the rope to draw up the ladder, which proved to be about six feet too short. It was now half-past eleven, and suddenly the patrol could be heard, making its round half an hour before the usual time. The sentry gave a warning call that all was lost, he threw down the ladder and its grappling irons, and in the hope of covering his own complicity, fired his musket and raised the alarm. The patrol hurried up and opened fire upon the assailants, who were flying in all directions. Captain MacLean, formerly an officer of King James VII., was found sprawling on the ground, bruised by a fall from the precipice, and was secured, together with three other gentlemen, none of whom, however were brought to trial. Colonel Stuart, the deputy Governor, upon receipt of the warning notice, had contented himself with telling his officers to double the sentries and make diligent rounds, and had then gone to bed; for this he was deprived of his post, "for having failed in his duty," and thrown into the Tolbooth. There was doubtless good reason to suspect that had the assailants gained an entrance, they would have met with little resistance; and the important stroke of securing Edinburgh Castle was lost by half an hour in point of time, by a wife's curiosity, and the unpunctuality of a workman.

"Rae's History," p. 205.

The moment the news of the rising reached London the Duke of Argyle, Commander-in-Chief of the Scotch forces, was despatched to Scotland, followed soon after by

1715. the Duke of Roxburgh, the Marquises of Annandale and Tweeddale, the Earls of Selkirk, Loudoun, Rothes, Haddington, Ilay and Forfar. Two regiments were ordered from Ireland to Edinburgh, and pressing instances were sent to Holland for the 6000 men which, by the Treaty of Guarantee, the Dutch were to provide. The States-General met this demand with a refusal, alleging that the French Ambassador had notified his Court's formal declaration of not interfering in the affairs of Great Britain, neither in favour of the Pretender nor against him. All the regular troops actually in Scotland, numbering less than 1500 effective men, were concentrated round Stirling, to prevent the Highlanders from crossing the Forth and pouring into the Lowlands. Parliament passed the "Clans Act," by which the clansmen of rebels were set free from all allegiance to their chiefs, and entitled to hold their tenures direct from the Crown, with two years' rent remitted. The Bill also authorised the Crown to summon any suspected person to Edinburgh to take the oath of allegiance, under pain of being declared a rebel. All the gentlemen who had taken arms, or who were suspected of Jacobitism received the summons, but only two obeyed it.

The attempt upon Edinburgh having failed, Lord Mar established his head-quarters at Perth, where his forces, cavalry and infantry, amounted to some 5000 men. They were ill-armed and undisciplined, and there was little money to support them; but so good was their spirit that an able commander would speedily have rendered them effective. Unfortunately, Mar was no such commander, a fact which he himself seemed to recognise by offering the post first to the Duke of Gordon, who could not accept it on account of his religion, and then to the Duke of Athole —in both cases to act under the Duke of Berwick. The Duke refused, partly, it was supposed, because Mar had sent Colonel John Hay, "the man on earth most unacceptable to him," with the proposal, and partly because he considered that the King should have communicated directly with him, if he meant to confer so important a charge

"Memoir" of the Master of Sinclair, Abbotsford Club, 1858.

upon him. Lord Mar therefore kept the command, which, as we have seen, was confirmed by James, when the Duke of Berwick had finally refused it. 1715.

Money was procured by voluntary and by forced subscription, by the seizure of the funds in the tax-offices, by an eight months' anticipated levy of the excise, and by subventions from France. A considerable number of arms were seized on board a vessel at Leith, which the Earl of Sutherland was sending to his clan, to be used in defence of the Government.

The insurrection soon spread to the Lowlands; first into West Lothian, into Dumfriesshire and Galloway, and from thence to Northumberland and Cumberland. The Jacobites of the Lothians placed themselves under the command of the Earl of Wintoun, who, in despite of his youth—he was twenty-five years of age—and his inexperience, was on more than one occasion to display greater prudence than several of his seniors. The Earl of Nithsdale was the chosen chief of Dumfriesshire and Galloway, but on account of his religion, and not to give umbrage to the Protestants, he resigned his command to William, Lord Kenmure, of the county of Galloway. Kenmure was a man of sense and probity, but quite unskilled in military affairs, and his first enterprise, an attack upon the town of Dumfries, ended in failure. In Northumberland and Cumberland the rising had two leaders, the young Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Thomas Forster; but the same reason which had caused Lord Nithsdale to place the chief command in the hands of Kenmure, made Lord Derwentwater resign it to Forster.

The English Government, having arrested Lords Lansdowne, Jersey, Dupplin, son-in-law of Lord Oxford, and Scarsdale, Sir Richard Vivian (accused of a design to seize Plymouth), Sir John Packington, Sir William Wyndham, the Tory leader, and other suspected persons; and having seized the stores of arms and ammunition which had been collected at Oxford, Bath, and other places in the south of England, sent orders for the arrest of Lord Derwentwater and Mr. Forster, as soon as the rumour of a rising in the

1715. north reached London.[1] Warned in time, the two Jacobite leaders remained in hiding for a few days, and then, having given notice to their adherents and anticipating the appointed day, raised the royal standard and proclaimed the King at Warkworth on October 9, and marched towards Newcastle. They numbered 300 horse; they had no infantry, having neither money nor arms for the volunteers who presented themselves in great numbers. A small body of infantry would have enabled them to make themselves masters of Newcastle with little difficulty, the town being surrounded with a stone wall of some height, but with old gates so decayed that they could scarcely be closed. The Whig magistrates hastily bricked up the apertures, and summoned some regular troops, who forced the "Gentlemen," as Forster's followers were termed, to retire.

Forster then determined to join the Scotch insurgents under Kenmure, and the junction was effected by the middle of October at the little town of Rothbury. The Englishmen, lightly mounted on their hunters and roadsters, contrasted with the Scots on their powerful Lowland horses, and armed, both horse and foot, with their formidable basket-hilted broadswords. The English were cordially received by the Scots, and it was decided to commence operations upon the arrival of a detachment of Mar's forces, which was hastening towards the Border after crossing the Forth. Mar had only waited to despatch them for the reinforcement of 4000 men under the Marquis of Huntly, comprising three squadrons of well-mounted and fully equipped noblemen and gentlemen of his clan; Huntly, moreover, brought 50 *light cavalry*, as he termed them,—Highlanders mounted on long-tailed, half-wild ponies, whose appearance met with some ridicule in the camp, which Mar was imprudent enough not to check, much to their chief's mortification. Some of the western clans, held in check by Lord Sutherland, who was

[1] A proclamation was issued, 11th October, offering £100 reward for the apprehension of James Painter and other gentlemen of St. Columb in Cornwall, who had proclaimed James III.—Salmon's *Chronological Historian*, 1747.

for the Government, delayed to put in an appearance; and the Earl of Seaforth, who had raised 2000 men, dared not force his way through Sutherland's ranks, for fear of leaving his own territory open to his ravages. In spite of these delays, Mar's force was amply sufficient to have engaged and beaten Argyle, or forced him to retire before the arrival of reinforcements from England. His numbers were double those of Argyle, who could without difficulty have been surrounded at Stirling, by a simultaneous attack by the clans from the west, by Mar from the north, while Kenmure's horse would have harassed his rear. His only retreat would have been upon Glasgow, from which a detachment of Mar's force would have sufficed to cut him off. So sensible was the Duke of his danger, that he was careful to fortify all the places which could protect his march, if he found himself compelled to retreat before superior numbers. 1715.

Lord Mar, who like many men of limited genius, was obstinate in his own opinion, preferred his own plan, which consisted in supporting Kenmure, to the other which was pressed upon him and which would have been far easier of execution, and more important in its results. The crossing of the Forth was skilfully accomplished above Burntisland by Brigadier MacIntosh, so styled because he had served in France, and attained the rank of brigadier in Louis XIV.'s army. With the loss of 40 men by the seizing of one of his boats by the enemy, he assembled the 1600 who had safely accomplished the passage at Haddington, and was about to march with them to join Kenmure, when he received a sudden summons to make for Edinburgh, which it was hoped he would reach before the Government troops could intervene. The project was frustrated by the zeal of the Lord Provost who, hearing that the Jacobites were at Haddington, sent an express to Argyle. The Duke instantly placing himself at the head of 500 horse, reached the west gate of Edinburgh an hour before MacIntosh approached the town from the east. Finding that the enemy had stolen a march upon him, MacIntosh judged it useless to attempt

1715. to enter Edinburgh, and made for Leith, which he entered without opposition. There he found the 40 Highlanders who had been taken at the passage of the Forth; he seized what money and supplies were in the town and at the customs, while some vessels in the port supplied him with a few cannon and some arms, with which he entrenched himself in the remaining portion of the old citadel built by Oliver Cromwell. Argyle appeared before the town next day and vainly summoned the Jacobites to surrender under pain of high treason; but finding them determined to defend themselves, and judging his own force insufficient to attack them, he withdrew.

MacIntosh deemed it imprudent to remain at Leith; he left the town at nine o'clock at night, silently and in good order, for Seaton House, a fortified stronghold belonging to the Earl of Wintoun. In order to deceive Argyle as to his real purpose, MacIntosh made various dispositions as if to establish himself there, and the Duke prepared to dislodge him; express after express coming, however, with the news that Mar, with all his force was about to march upon Stirling, compelled Argyle to return in hot haste to his small garrison there. He left General Wightman and 250 men with orders to dislodge the Jacobites, but after three attempts, finding them well entrenched, Wightman determined not to risk his small force in a regular siege, and withdrew. It had never been MacIntosh's intention to remain at Seaton; and as soon as he had received an answer from Kenmure and Forster to a message he had sent them, he marched to Kelso, which those gentlemen had appointed as the place of meeting, and where they arrived but a few hours before him.

At Kelso, on Sunday, October 23, after divine service in the great kirk, where Mr. Patten, a non-juring minister, preached on the text, Deut. xxi. 17, "The right of the first-born is his," James III. was proclaimed King, and a review was held of the united forces, which amounted to some 1500 foot and 600 horse. Lord Derwentwater's troop was commanded by his brother, Charles Radcliffe, and Captain John Shaftoe; Lord Widdrington's contingent

was under Thomas Errington of Beaufront; Captain John Hunter was in command of the third troop, Robert Douglas, brother of the Laird of Finland, of the fourth, and Captain Nicholas Wogan, an Irishman of Welsh descent, of the fifth and last. A council was held at which two plans of operation were discussed; the Scots were for keeping along the border from east to west, and seizing Dumfries, Ayr, and even Glasgow on their route, where they knew they would meet with little or no opposition. They would then have forced the passes, which were held by a few bodies of militia, and effected a junction with the Duke of Gordon's Highlanders and with Mar's army. Pressed on three sides, the Duke of Argyle's position at Stirling would have become untenable. Unfortunately the English were of a contrary opinion, and insisted upon the war being carried into England. Lord Derwentwater and the Northumberland gentlemen proposed to attack Newcastle, where General Carpenter had no more than 800 or 900 men under him; the coal trade would be interrupted, which would seriously inconvenience London at the approach of winter, and time would be gained to raise the northern Jacobites, and form them into a corps of infantry. Forster—to whom James sent a general's commission—and his friends proposed on the other hand to march westward along the border, and then suddenly to turn to the south and enter Lancashire, where they declared they would find at least 20,000 men ready to join them, and with such a body they could march unopposed to London. Neither MacIntosh nor Kenmure believed in the 20,000 men promised by Forster, and the result of the consultation was a resolution to march westwards along the Cheviots, and to be guided by circumstances. 1715.

Meanwhile Lord Mar was in a state of no less embarrassment. On hearing of MacIntosh's investment at Leith, he had given him up for lost, and called a council of war, which he opened with a dejected and consternated air. Several of the chiefs combated his fears, and General Hamilton proposed to march upon Stirling, which would force Argyle to retire from Leith, and would, in any event,

1715. make the Jacobites masters of the "long-causeway" pass on the road to Stirling. Mar appeared to approve of the plan, but when within a short distance of the pass, called a halt at Dunblane, alleging that two of his officers objected to the project. This was merely a pretext covering his determination to postpone the moment of action as long as possible; either from a sense of his own incapacity as a commander, or in the hope of the arrival of the King, or of the Duke of Berwick. As soon as he learned that Argyle had returned to Stirling, Mar gave the signal for retreat, and shut himself up in Perth.

Berwick, as we have seen, was not coming; but James was preparing, in the face of almost insuperable difficulties, to get away. Lord Stair's spies were on most of the roads, as well as at St. Germains and at Bar; Bolingbroke exercised his ingenuity in devising expedients to put him off the scent, and the Duke of Orleans declared himself to be getting tired of the English Ambassador's importunity. His policy forbade him openly to traverse Stair's activities, but in a private interview with the Duke of Ormonde he made great professions of concern and friendship for James, and agreed to give him a good number of arms and ammunition; his doing so to be kept secret even from Lord Bolingbroke. Ormonde and Bolingbroke made secret and hasty visits to Bar, and the latter proposed drafts of the Declaration to be sent into England and Scotland, to the army and navy, to the two universities, and to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London.

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. pp. 434, 440, 441.

Ibid. p. 442.

Ibid. p. 447.

> "Certain it is that to keep up a party in England att this time and to disarm your enemys of their strongest weapon, your Majesty must link into your own cause, that of the Church of England, of the Tory party, and of your sister's memory. Others may represent things to you as they wish them, but I shall, as long as I have the honour to serve you, represent them as they are."

In returning the drafts James refers to some few changes, to make them "relative to my former Declaration of the month of July, for it is of consequence that such papers should be all of a piece." The alterations were the following:—"Our sister of *glorious* memory" instead of

"*blessed* memory"; "her inclinations to justice" for "*her eminent justice and exemplary piety.*" "When it pleased Almighty God to *put a period to her life*," instead of "*to take her to himself.*" The two universities are termed "nurseries of *learning*" instead of "nurseries of *religion*," and Charles I. is described as "Our royal grandfather, who fell a sacrifice to rebellion," where Bolingbroke had called him *that blessed martyr, who died for his people.* With regard to the Church of England James's version runs as follows:— 1715.

"To such a Parliament let it belong to make effectual provision, not only for the security and re-establishment of all those rights, privileges, immunities, and possessions, which belong to the Church of England, and wherein we have already promised by our late Declaration of 20th July, to secure and protect all the members thereof, but also for the better maintenance of those who serve at her altars. . . . We cannot but think ourselves in a particular manner obliged to be solicitous for this Church, because we are acquainted with her principles, to which we acknowledge that the preservation of great and useful remains of loyalty in the hearts of our people is to be ascribed." "Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 448.

Bolingbroke's draft had "the Churches of England *and Ireland*," and "solicitous *for the prosperity* of the Church." James asked him to countersign the declaration—"for I believe it will not be the less popular for having your name at the bottom." Bolingbroke refused, alleging that the alterations made in the draft were a strong objection against his putting his name to it. No name whatever would hinder men, whose jealousies ran very high, from observing that there was no promise concerning the Church of Ireland, and that the promise to the Church of England was ambiguous, and liable to more than one interpretation. After Bolingbroke's dismissal from James's service, and when he was seeking to make his peace with the English Court, he described, in his famous "letter to Sir William Wyndham," the whole tenour of the alterations as "one continued instance of the grossest bigotry; and the most material passages turned with all the Jesuitical prevarication imaginable." Stuart "Papers," Lord Mahon's History, Vol. I. App. p. xxx.

Bolingbroke who, in the same letter, says of himself at this period, that he had promised Lord Stair he would

1715. enter into no Jacobite engagements, "and I kept my word," would certainly not have thrown concealment to the winds by countersigning James III.'s Declaration, had every word remained as he had written it. And it is interesting to note that Sir Richard Steele in the pamphlet he immediately published, objecting to every paragraph of James's Declaration to Scotland (identical in all essential respects with that to England), fails to animadvert upon the points raised by Bolingbroke.

Brit. Mus., 1850, c, b.

In the face of the almost insuperable difficulties surrounding every possible scheme, it was decided that the Duke of Ormonde should sail for the West of England, to head the expected rising there, and that James should follow him. "Let the Duke have a reasonable time before you," writes Bolingbroke, "otherwise you must come upon the English coast, and go inquiring from place to place where you may land, which is a project that will not bear two thoughts, and must give a chance of fifty to one that you are taken." Bolingbroke urges the necessity of a careful disguise, and the utmost precaution to conceal his route and departure, as Stair has a jealousy that the King and Ormonde are in motion, and has spies on every route—"two are this morning gone towards Rouen." James replies that he will expect with impatience the news of the Duke's departure, and will start two days after hearing of it, and wait near the coast until he hears of his landing:—

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 440.

Ibid. p. 444.

> "Which I think presses to a great degree, for 'tis plain nothing will stirr in England till his arrival, which alone can put a stop to this fury of imprisoning all our friends, which, if it continues, would cause inevitable delays at the best. . . . Here is a commission for Lord North and Grey. . . ."

The Duke of Ormonde left Paris on October 24, and when he reached the coast heard the ill news that one Maclean, who was in the whole secret of the rising in the West, had betrayed the King's friends; so that the Government by his means had been able "to seize persons and places in such manner and at such time as to defeat all their designs. Notwithstanding this . . . the Duke has sailed."

Ibid. p. 452.

Arrest followed arrest—Sir Marmaduke Constable, Sir Francis Warre, Lord Dunbar, were brought to town by the messengers; Lord North and Grey was taken into custody at Brussels at the request of the English Court, while Robert Whitty, Felix Hara, and Joseph Sullivan were hanged at Tyburn for enlisting men for James's service; and at Oxford and York many persons were taken up on suspicion. 1715.

The States of Holland had not been able to adhere to their first intention not to send troops into England. At the reiterated instances of King George's Government, they agreed to send 6000 men, made up of five battalions of Dutch, five battalions of Swiss, and one Regiment of Dragoons, under the command of Lieut.-General Wanderbeck, and Brigadiers Cromstrom, Labadie, and Stuvler. "MS. Journal," Bib. Nat. Fr. 13,861-90.

"Thus are foreign forces brought into England against you," bitterly exclaims Bolingbroke in sending the news to James, "tho' none can be procured for you." That country was in truth about to see the strange sight of Swiss and Dutch and Hessians, foreign mercenaries, engaged for hire in a quarrel not their own, coercing Englishmen to the rule of a foreign prince.

The Duke of Ormonde had sailed for the West coast of England, taking with him some twenty officers and as many troopers of Nugent's regiment. But for Maclean's treachery he would have found Plymouth in the hands of Sir Richard Vivian, and thousands of Jacobites ready to rise. He found instead, as we have seen, his principal friends arrested, the rest dispersed, and not a single man to meet him; he was perforce compelled to return to St. Malo, where James found him on his arrival from Bar. "Memoirs" of Duke of Berwick, Vol. II. p. 165.

Before leaving Lorraine, James wrote letters dated "Commercy, October 18," to the Emperor, and to all the Sovereigns and Republics of Europe, announcing that it having pleased God to dispose the hearts of a great part of his subjects to return to their duty, he desired, before going to place himself at their head, to give assurance that he had no intention to disturb the peace of Europe, but

1715. rather to confirm it, being resolved to cultivate friendship and good intelligence with all neighbouring powers, when established in the peaceful possession of the throne of his ancestors.

Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 20,293, Art. 86, 162.

Queen Mary of Modena at the same time wrote urgent and pathetic letters to the Nuncio at Paris and to Pope Clement XI. announcing her son's departure and entreating "the common father of the faithful" to furnish him with the subsidies so necessary for the success of his perilous enterprise. The Queen even pointed out that she had reason to believe that the Bishops and Clergy of Spain were ready to contribute to her son's restoration, and that a word from the Pope to the King of Spain and to the Nuncio at Madrid would greatly further so meritorious an act. Lord Stair was quickly apprised of James's departure from Lorraine, which, under the pretence of a hunting-party at the Prince of Vaudemont's, had been concealed for the few days necessary for his journey, made in disguise and "literally alone," to Paris. Stair immediately applied to the Duke of Orleans to send to Château Thierry to stop the Pretender and send him back to Bar. His letter is dated November 8, and the reply of M. de Contades, that he is starting by the Regent's orders for Château Thierry, bears the date of the following day. Contades, acting probably upon secret instructions, arrested the postmaster, but failed to bring tidings of the Prince.

The Regent was in a condition of considerable perplexity. On the one hand was the flattering vision of his daughter as Queen of England, the accomplishment of an act intensely gratifying to the "Old Court" of France by restoring the Stuarts to their throne, with the glory which such an achievement would bring to his own reputation.[1] On the other hand, stood the safer but inglorious prospect of the alliance pressed upon him by George I., with the promise of help to his own wearing of a crown, in the not

[1] "He has still the marriage in his head," wrote Bolingbroke to James on November 9, "and a little good fortune would make the bait succeed to draw him in."—*Stuart Papers, Lord Mahon*, App. p. xxxiii.

impossible event "of the failure," as Lord Stanhope had put it, of the infant Louis XV. Thus he hesitated, and it is curious to find Bolingbroke and Lord Stair writing to their respective masters the identical words, with a widely different interpretation of the word *good*,—that the first "good news" from the other side of the water would help the Regent to make up his mind. 1715.

Dogged by Stair's spies, James failed in his first attempt to reach Nantes, where lay a swift vessel provided for him by Mr., afterwards Lord, Walsh, a wealthy ship-owner. He returned to Paris, and after spending twenty-four hours with the Queen, his mother, at Chaillot, made a fresh start for the coast of Normandy, travelling in disguise in a carriage belonging to his friend, the Baron de Breteuil de Preuilly, who had married the beautiful daughter of Lord O'Brian Clare. Betrayed to Lord Stair by a member of the Baron's family, Mademoiselle de Preuilly, James ran perhaps the closest peril of his life before he reached the first stage of his journey, Nonancourt, between Dreux and Verneuil. Efforts to relieve the English ambassador from the responsibility for the attempt upon James's life at Nonancourt, and to represent it as a Jacobite invention, have been made by writers who were ignorant of or who overlooked the facts of the case.[1] The depositions of the witnesses are still in existence; and it is impossible to compare the description given by Colonel Douglas and his accomplices to the people at the inn of the traveller for whom they lay in wait, with that made of the person of the Prince after the attempt had failed, without being convinced that they referred to the same person. Both descriptions denote him as fair, tall and slight, with a long face pitted with small-pox, and aged about twenty-five. Louis Aubry, the soldier who was afterwards sent with James as an escort by the Viscount de Lacunelle, to whose house he had been conducted, adds the particulars that he wore a fair wig *à la cavalière*, and

Lémontey's "Histoire de la Régence."

[1] Lord Mahon's *History*. Douglas is mentioned as a spy at Bar in a letter from James to the Duke of Berwick (August 6, 1715), with the remark, "This article of spies is an evil without remedy."

1715. that he had a mole, about the size of a pea, on one side of his chin.

Colonel Douglas and his companions produced Lord Stair's passports, which M. Roujault, Intendant of Rouen, received with the dry remark that no minister would dare avow such acts, and when Lord Stair unblushingly claimed his men, and complained of their arrest, Marshal d'Uxelles sent a short account of the affair to M. d'Iberville, French Ambassador in London.—The emissaries had taken circuitous routes from Paris to Nonancourt; Douglas's suspicious conduct, his anxious inquiries respecting the traveller for whom he sought, his secretly putting together and loading a jointed gun, and placing spies or assassins in ambush as night drew in, raised such suspicions in the postmaster's wife that she mounted her horse, and stopped the young traveller before he entered the village. A certain Baron de Bleinine, "whose only merit with my Lord Stair," wrote d'Uxelles, "is that of having served him as a spy, like many other rogues, *comme un grand nombre d'autres fripons*," was retained in custody, notwithstanding Stair's protest, "he having had the temerity to give pretended orders from Marshal de Villars at the gates of the town."

Affaires Étrangères, Dec. 9.

The Duke of Orleans, from motives of policy, thought proper to stifle the affair; and the depositions of Madame Lospital, the postmistress, and her servants were not made public, which did not prevent the French Court from treating the English Ambassador with marked coldness;[1] and when Colonel Douglas, a few days later, ventured to appear in the infant Louis XV.'s presence, Marshal de Villeroy, the King's governor, caused him to be turned out "with opprobrium."

Lémontey's "Histoire de la Régence."

Louis Aubry's deposition informs us that in the presence of M. de Lacunelle and Madame Lospital, James put on the dress of a French abbé, and then started, accompanied by Aubry, also in disguise, for the coast. They passed by Verneuil, l'Aigle, and Argentan

[1] *Stair Papers, Oxenfoord Castle*, vol. ii. Lord Stair to Lord Stanhope, November 12, 1715. (In French.)

to Falaise, whence James dismissed him with a gratuity of three louis d'or, saying he was now in safety, and that the persons who had tried to waylay him did not know their business. His companion's identity was not revealed to Aubry, who tells us that when he returned home and was told he had escorted the King of England, he replied that the gentleman was not the King, whom he knew quite well by sight, having served in the same campaign in Flanders some years previously. 1715.

James's first letter from St. Malo is dated November 11. It is addressed to Abbé Lewis Inese, Rector of the Scotch College, Paris; and states his determination to sail for Scotland as soon as the wind, which is now contrary, permits. Writing to Bolingbroke four days later, he tells him he never wanted him so much in his life, "for wee are in a strange confused chaos here these eight days, so that . . . the sooner you can join me the better." Berwick and Bolingbroke were of opposite opinions as to James's movements in the desperate case in which he found himself, compelled in honour to join the men who had risen for his sake, and yet having nothing, in Cardinal Gualterio's words to the Pope, but the goodness of his cause, his courage, and his sword, while the usurper held the authority, the forces, and the treasury of the country. The Duke of Berwick pressed James to go to Scotland; Lord Bolingbroke, who was equally urgent that he should make for England, writes: "I confess I cannot feel the force of that reasoning." At the same time he assures his Majesty that nothing is neglected, that the French Ministers and the Regent himself are secretly his friends:—

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 456.

Ibid. p. 458.

> "And if it pleases God to prosper you in your passage, I make no doubt but we shall be able to procure you support from the Continent, upon which all depends; since we cannot expect a revolution, but must expect a war. I hope it will not prove a long one."

Ibid. pp. 460, 461.

"Our good, worthy Duke" of Ormonde, as James called him, had a crowd of followers about him at St. Malo, among and by whom James's presence soon

1715. became generally known: "Nay, the very crew of my ship knew before I came who they were to carry," he writes to Bolingbroke, "and the secret so got out was necessarily more and more divulged by the length of time the contrary winds oblidged me to stay on shoar." After taking the best advice he could from Captain Cammock and other seamen, James resolved to go by land to Dunkerque and there take ship for Scotland, vessels having been prepared in that and several other ports for his service. "Would to God I could have consulted you in it before," he writes to Bolingbroke, "but there was no time for it, and a speedy party was to be taken of necessity."

The young Prince's position was as difficult as it was forlorn. Abandoned by the Duke of Berwick, whom he had chosen as the fit commander of his arduous enterprise, receiving the excuses of Bolingbroke that "a distemper which would not ripen" prevented him from obeying his Majesty's commands to join him, he was aware that Sir George Byng, who, as a young lieutenant, had so nearly captured him at Portsmouth in his infancy, had his cruisers "swarming," as the Duke of Berwick termed it, on the coasts of Normandy and Brittany to intercept him now. His resolution to go secretly to Dunkerque was, under the circumstances, the only feasible course. "As for the Duke of Ormonde," he writes to Bolingbroke,—

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. pp. 463, 464.

"His resolution is according to your advice to go straight to Lancashire, except contrary winds oblidge him to put in to the coast of Cornwall. . . . The Duke has with him about 300 armes, such as they are . . . and can, I believe, make up near a hundred men. . . . After this I cannot but unburden myself to you as to the hard game I have had to play this fortnight past, which 'tis fitt the Queen and you should know. The Duke had a crowd of people with him who were inconvenient in all respects, they were continually whispering notions and jealousies into his ears, and he, I fear, trusted them too much, everybody knew everything and would play the minister. Every resolution was known and blamed, while there was nobody capable of giving good advice . . . everything was desperate where I was not to be in person, and everything easy in that supposition; in fine, all these whispers made so great an impression upon the Duke of Or[monde] that with all the zeal and courage immaginable he goes about the business now with an

uneasiness and a diffidence he cannot dissemble. . . . I fancy he had rather I waited somewhere on this coast for newes, but delayes you see are dangerous, and not to be harkened to. . . . In fine, on the whole my circumstances have been and are most cruel, but with God's help and blessing I must and will overcome all difficulties and be discouraged with nothing from pursueing my point, to which all other considerations must yield. The whole depends now on the secret, so that I must require of the Queen and you an absolute one without exception; except you think fit the Regent should know anything. . . . 1715.

"Nov. 27. D[uke of] O[rmonde] gott out of the bay last night and sett sail this morning with a fine moderate gail. He will certainly go to Cornwall, which I am sorry for, but after having told him my reasons against it and inforced yours, I could do no more, for the business is so hazardous that 'tis but just he should himself decide after that. . . . Were it possible for you to meet me on the road [to Dunkerque] with secrecy I should be truly pleased . . . but you can only judge of that, and for that and everything else will, I am sure, do whatever you think most for my service . . . while I am trudging in the dust, you will not be idle in Paris. Wherever we both are, never doubt of my true kindness to you and, till wee meet, it will at least be a comfort to me to have you near the Queen, knowing her confidence in you and your capacity and zeal. . . .

"In case D[uke of] Or[monde] should be taken, which God forbid, it will be immediately spread that I am so also. In Scotland that can have no ill effect, because Mr. Hayes [Col. John Hay] knows the contrary, but in England it may, and in that case you should out of hand have it spread about that I am not taken without saying where I am. . . .

"Nov. 28. . . . Cameron will tell you of my way of travelling, which is so unsuspected altogether that I really believe it cannot miss of being private and secret. . . . The man of this house . . . has been the heartiest man alive . . . to cover the secret he goes allong with me himself. . . . I part on Monday. . . . You shall hear from me once more by the post from hence, and on the road as often as I can without suspicion. . . . Nothing but the secret's getting out can I think make it fail, but indeed I think secrecy is banished the world and we may well call it *rara avis*, etc. for I never saw so much indiscretion in my life as since I came to these parts."

Before reaching Dunkerque James heard of the Duke of Ormonde's return from his second unsuccessful attempt to effect a landing—with his 100 men and 300 indifferent arms—in England. "If the bad account we have had of Mr. Evans [England] be true, I think Onslow [Ormonde] is much better anywhere than with him," is James's remark to Lord Bolingbroke. The Duke himself, writing from Morlaix, December 27, to Lord Mar of his disappoint-

1715. ment at having failed to make a diversion in the south "and to seconde what you have gloriously begun in the northe," informs him of the promise of arms and ammunition secretly made to him by the Regent Orleans, and after mentioning James's departure for Dunkerque after ten days' stay near St. Malo, adds:—

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 481.

"If I cannot gett our friends in the southe . . . to agree to rise and joyne me when I assure them that I bring them 12,000 arms, with ammunition proportionable . . . then I designe to follow the King and serve as a volenteere with your Grace, untill our friends in England will be persuaded to do themselves justice. Should they be so much their owne enemies as not to stirr, then the armes I have mentioned must be sent to Your Grace. . . ."[1]

During this time the opposed forces in Scotland remained inactive, the Duke of Argyle at Stirling and Lord Mar at Perth. Argyle turned to good account the leisure Lord Mar so ineptly afforded him, by drilling and disciplining his small force—which, though increased by the arrival of three fresh regiments, was still vastly inferior to that of the Scots—until he had raised it to a high state of efficiency. In the Jacobite camp discipline, order, and rule were almost unknown, "every gentleman," as a contemporary writer remarked of the Northumberland rising, "expecting his own advice to be followed." It was said of Lord Mar by the Master of Sinclair that all he inherited from the family of his mother, Lady Mary Maule, daughter of the Earl of Panmure, was "the hump he has got on his back, and his dissolute, malicious, meddling spirit." The description was that of an enemy, who likewise speaks with contempt of Mar's military incapacity; but Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, writing some years later, says that he was "as crooked in mind as he was in body." Like many deformed in person Lord Mar was gifted with a silvery tongue, a persuasive eloquence, and a beguiling way with women.[2] Unfortunately he was incapable of

Stuart "Papers," Windsor.

[1] The above letter is endorsed, "That Lord Mar did not receive it till at Paris, March 5."

[2] Mar's first wife was Lady Mary Hay, daughter of the Earl of Kinnoull. As his second wife he married no less a person than Lady Francis Pierrepoint, daughter of the Duke of Kingston, and sister of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.

turning to any useful purpose the enthusiasm which his passionate, moving speeches aroused in his followers, and neither the sarcasms of old Lord Breadalbane, who advised him to set up a printing press to record his daily achievements, nor the visible discontents of men like Lord Huntly and the Master of Sinclair, could induce him to alter his methods, or to withdraw his confidence from the outlawed Rob Roy MacGregor, who was well known to be in the pay of the Duke of Argyle, and whose outlawry was left as a safe cloak for his proceedings as a spy in the Jacobite camp. 1715.

The lack of discipline among the Scots was exemplified by the abortive affair of Dunfermline, whither Lord Mar had sent a detachment of 300 Highlanders and 80 horse to levy contributions. The town was reached unopposed, and the Highlanders quartered themselves in the old Abbey, placing a sentry at the door. As for the cavalry, they seem to have thought of nothing but establishing themselves comfortably in the town, without taking the least precaution for their own safety, without agreeing upon a rallying point in case of alarm, nor even informing themselves as to where their horses were stabled. Colonel Cathcart, who was in the neighbourhood with a body of dragoons, apprised by his spies within the town, arrived there at daybreak, completely surprised the Scotch cavalry, killing several and making some twenty prisoners, with whom he retired before the Highlanders came down from the Abbey, in entire ignorance of what had taken place. Shortly after this event, which did the tactics of the insurgents little honour, Lord Mar, who by this time had received James's warrant creating him a Duke, found himself reinforced by Lord Seaforth's contingent of 4000 men, and between 4000 and 5000 men of the Western clans, famed for their prowess and good discipline.

Mar's army was now more than three times as great as that of Argyle, and each day's delay in taking the offensive, even on the pretext of keeping his force intact for the King, weakened his position, as the various disjointed bodies of men began to melt away by desertion,

1715. and to soften in undisciplined idleness. Nor could it be imagined that James would not have preferred to find a victorious army, than one which had neglected to crush an enemy whose destruction would have been child's play two months before, and which even now would have been easy of accomplishment under the most ordinary and elementary rules of warfare. Lord Mar preferred to begin the fortifying of Perth, but as if he wished to prove beyond dispute how completely he was a stranger to everything concerning military arts, he confided the erection of the works to a Frenchman, who had been a fencing-master, and previously a dancing-master. The fortifications devised by this person afforded considerable amusement to the English when they became possessed of the town, after having conduced to the desertion of many of the Highlanders, who strongly objected to be employed upon them.

La Croix de Marlès. "Chevalier de St. Georges."

More than two months had elapsed since Lord Mar had raised the King's standard when, on the $\frac{12}{23}$ November, he at last consented, under the pressure of his companions, and alarmed at the constant desertions from his ranks, to make a move. His purpose seems to have been to make three feint attacks from different points upon Stirling, while passing with his main body across the Forth to join Lord Kenmure; but the Duke of Argyle, fully instructed by his spies, frustrated the plan by bravely marching against him with his small but well-disciplined corps of between 3000 and 4000 men. Meanwhile Mar had reached Auchterarder, where he lodged his infantry, his cavalry lying in the neighbourhood. That very night two important desertions befell his army; Simon Fraser of Lovat, who, since his escape from Saumur at the end of 1713, had been living in London, now threw in his lot with King George, and at his summons every Fraser, to the number of 400, left the Jacobite camp. Two hundred men of Lord Huntly's clan, under the pretence that they had been overworked on fatigue-duty, left the same night; but, in spite of these defections, Mar's army still outnumbered that of Argyle by more than two

to one. At daybreak, the Jacobite force, which had lain under arms all night, formed in order of battle at Sheriffmuir, two miles north-east of Dunblane. A squadron of the enemy's cavalry was soon observed to the south, and Lord Mar, convoking the chiefs of the clans, addressed them in a fiery eloquent speech which, despite the discontent of Huntly and Sinclair, was received with enthusiasm; and when the soldiers learned that the council had decided to give battle, they burst into wild acclamations of joy. Facing each other upon two sides of a low hill, the opposing forces met at the top within pistol-shot before seeing each other, which caused momentary disorder on both sides; the Highlanders rallied quickly, but no order to charge was forthcoming, which is said to have wrung from one of the old chiefs, Gordon of Glenbucket, who saw the propitious moment passing by, "Oh, for an hour of Dundee!" 1715.

The Macdonalds, who formed the centre and right of the Jacobite army, attacked the English left under General Witham, and completely routed it, exposing their centre. A flank movement of cavalry, while the Highlanders, with their usual impetuosity, made a front attack, would have inflicted the same fate upon Argyle's centre; but Huntly's and Sinclair's horse remained in inaction, in spite of the vigorous appeals made to their chiefs; and the gallant efforts of the Highland foot, left unsupported, failed of success. On the Jacobite left the fortune of war declared itself for skill and the disciplined few against untrained and ill-led numbers. Argyle himself was in command of this portion of his army, and seeing that the repeated attacks of the Highlanders was shaking his ranks, detached Colonel Cathcart with a body of horse to make a long circuit across a morass which the frost had rendered practicable, and to take the enemy in the rear. The manœuvre succeeded; the Highlanders, in their surprise, fell over each other in hasty flight without heeding the remonstrances of their leaders. The fugitives numbered 5000; were they to rally and return to the charge, they could annihilate

1715. the Duke's small detachment, made up of three battalions of infantry drawn from his centre and five squadrons of cavalry, numbering between 800 and 900 men. His only chance was to pursue and prevent a rally. This second manœuvre, bolder even than the first, was equally successful, and he pursued the Highlanders as far as the banks of the river Allan, a distance of several miles.

Argyle must have known that he was exposed to the danger of being himself pursued, cut off, and caught between two fires; but he rightly counted upon the hesitation and slowness of Lord Mar, and, above all, upon his complete military incapacity. In fact, Mar made no effort to follow up the victory gained by his right wing, acting as if all were lost, and there were neither orders to give nor measures to be taken. The Highlanders, left to themselves, soon quitted the pursuit of the English flying towards Stirling, which town the victorious Jacobites could have entered on the heels of the fugitives. They contented themselves with returning to Stony-Hill, a height close to the battlefield, where they stood in groups, broadsword in hand, having thrown aside their firearms, according to their custom when making a charge. They received no orders; and when the Duke of Argyle, on his return from the pursuit of the Jacobite left, came upon them, he was allowed to pass with a faint demonstration of attack, and to continue his route to Stirling. The Highlanders then fell back upon their centre, which had taken no part in the battle, thanks to the "prudence" of Lord Mar, guilty of all the blood shed on that fatal day; and of having, in his cowardly ineptitude, betrayed the cause he had rashly undertaken to defend.

The casualties were about equal—some 500 on each side. The Scots had to deplore the loss of the young Earl of Strathmore, killed by an English dragoon, whose life he had spared. Clanranald, an excellent soldier, ever faithful to the Stuart cause, who had served in the French army, was also slain; his death causing the greater part of his clan to withdraw, an example followed by many of the victorious division, and by nearly all of the defeated left

wing. By the evening of the 15th the Jacobite force of nearly 10,000 men was reduced by 4000, Lord Huntly and the Master of Sinclair being among the first to abandon their discredited chief. Both sides claimed the victory, but the battle was so little decisive that it paralysed the action of the Jacobites, almost as effectually as a defeat would have done. As a victory, the Duke of Ormonde congratulated Lord Mar upon the battle in the letter we have quoted above; and James writes to Lord Bolingbroke on receipt of the news:— 1715.

> "'Tis plain we have not lost, tho' what related to our left wing is not well explained . . . it appears to me on the whole that we may keep our ground this winter, which is I think all, for before it be ended Patrick's (his own) presence, etc., will certainly produce great and good effects."

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 473.

The Duke of Argyle retreated to Stirling; Mar returned to Perth, alleging the difficulty of obtaining food for his troops as his reason for not following up his victory. Lord Lovat, as he called himself, retook Inverness for King George, and on the very day of the battle of Sheriffmuir, occurred the disaster of Preston. It will be remembered that the small combined forces of Kenmure, Forster, and MacIntosh had, after much discussion, decided upon the compromise of following the line of the Cheviots towards the west and awaiting the turn of events. The English, however, soon renewed their proposal to cross the Border, and succeeded in obtaining MacIntosh's consent; but no sooner had the Highlanders become aware of the plan than, forming themselves into line on a plain near Hawick, they declared they would not go into England to be made slaves of, as in Cromwell's time. Lord Wintoun took their part, and urged the necessity of marching to the aid of Lord Mar, the Highlanders charging him to declare in their name that they would stand by the English so long as they remained in Scotland, but in case the frontier was crossed they would return home.

The English submitted, and a move was made towards Dumfries, which the Scots confidently expected to take by

1715. surprise; but they found that the town had been hastily fortified and its inhabitants prepared for defence, while news arrived that General Carpenter, with a strong body of cavalry, was moving in their rear. Forster and his friends availed themselves of this frustration of the Scotch hopes to renew their instances, and at last prevailed. With the exception of 400 Highlanders, who persisted in their determination to return home, the Scots consented to pass into England; but so convinced was Lord Wintoun of the imprudence of the enterprise, that he maintained his refusal to join in it until the fear that his prudence might be mistaken for cowardice compelled him reluctantly to consent to it. The small army suddenly turned southwards and marched to Bramston and Apulby, Forster losing no time in making known to the troops James III.'s commission appointing him Commander in-Chief of the Jacobite forces in England. The Westmoreland Militia, hastily summoned by the authorities, numbering some 10,000 men, and with the Bishop of Carlisle at their head, no sooner found themselves in the presence of the enemy, than they threw down their arms and fled in disorder in all directions. Forster drew the happiest augury from this first encounter; but the Scots were less enthusiastic, pointing out that according to the English promises the north-western counties were to have risen and joined them to the number of 20,000 men in favour of King James. Manchester, however, was known to be Jacobite in its sentiments; and the insurgents leaving Lancaster, of which they had made themselves masters, started for Preston with the intention of seizing the bridge at Warrington, which would open a way to Liverpool, where Forster boasted of having many friends. He entered Preston on the $\frac{10}{21}$ November; and the same day General Willes, commanding the Government troops, entered Manchester with several regiments of cavalry and some battalions of infantry; and having opened communications with General Carpenter, who had not ceased his pursuit of the Jacobite force, proposed to attack Forster in Preston. Willes passed Ribblebridge, about a mile from the town,

without opposition, "and to the neglect of securing this pass the ruin of the Northumbrians is in great measure imputed; but their great misfortune was that they were under no command; and though Mr. Forster bore the name of General, every gentleman expected his own advice to be followed." However, when General Willes attacked them on the evening of the 12th, they behaved very gallantly and repulsed him, killing some 300 of his men; "nor could the common soldiers (who were most of them new-raised men) be brought without difficulty to renew the attack." General Carpenter, with 800 dragoons, joined Willes the following day; the town was completely invested, every issue closed, and the attacks so frequent and so terrible that the position of the Jacobites became untenable, and they offered to capitulate, Willes allowing them no better terms than unconditional surrender. The invested army, both Scots and Englishmen, behaved with the utmost valour, but they could do but little for the defence of an open town behind four hastily constructed barricades, which, with the neighbouring houses, were soon in flames. A party of Highlanders, refusing to capitulate, and determined to sell their lives dear, made a sally, in which the greater number were killed; a few only succeeded in cutting their way through the enemy's ranks.

1715. Salmon, Vol. II. p. 55, pub. 1747.

The number of prisoners taken at Preston was about 1500, including General Forster, the young Earl of Derwentwater, Lord Widdrington, the Earls of Nithsdale, Wintoun, and Carnwath, Viscount Kenmure, and Lord Nairne, with about 72 English gentlemen, and 158 Scotch officers and gentlemen. The Lords were secured in the most commodious houses and inns; and the Highlanders and common soldiers were put into the church, where they took what care of themselves they could, unripping the linings from the seats and pews, and making breeches and hose to defend themselves from the extremity of the weather.

Ibid.

On the 22nd December, at three o'clock of the afternoon, a sad procession of horsemen entered the streets of

"MS. Journal," Bib. Nat. Fr. 13,681-90.

1715. London. They were the prisoners of Preston, 213 in number, all pinioned and guarded by mounted grenadiers, each holding the bridle of a prisoner's horse in one hand, and a musket with fixed bayonet in the other. It was the day of triumph of the Whigs; and the fickle mob, which had shouted itself hoarse and broken heads and windows on James's birthday, and on many other occasions during that year of tumult and unrest, now hissed and hooted with special virulence at Brigadier MacIntosh and the other Scots wearing the Highland dress and bonnet. The Lords were committed to the Tower, and the others to Newgate, the Fleet, and the Marshalsea; the common soldiers having been tried at Preston, a certain number executed and the rest sent to the American Colonies, very few being acquitted.[1]

The Tories and the Church Party seem to have been struck with remorse for their own supineness and inactivity during the rising, and to have striven to atone by heaping benefits upon the prisoners, whom they looked upon as martyrs; gold and silver circulated freely in the prisons, the best of good cheer abounded, and the incarcerated gentlemen were allowed to receive what visits they pleased. To this must be attributed the large number of evasions which took place. Forster, MacIntosh, Robert Hepburn of Keith, and several others escaped from Newgate; Charles Radcliffe, brother of Lord Derwentwater, and the Earl of Wintoun also managed to get free, while the daring exploit of the Countess of Nithsdale in saving her husband from the Tower on the eve of the day fixed for his execution, will ever remain one of the most dramatic incidents in Jacobite annals.

The prisoners in the Tower were treated with greater rigour than those in Newgate and the other prisons; and when the Countess of Derwentwater, who was accompanied by her husband's uncles, the Dukes of Richmond and St. Albans, presented a petition to George I., praying to be allowed to visit her husband, it

[1] Major Nairne, Captains Lockhart, Shaftoe, and Erskine had been tried by court-martial, and shot at Preston.

was callously refused. The number of persons attainted for high treason in 1715-16 was 160; and when, by the Act of Grace of 1717, Lords Carnwath, Widdrington, and Nairne, who had been condemned to death, and the rest of the Jacobite insurgents were released, the attainders were not reversed, nor were forfeited estates restored. The annual value of the latter in England and Scotland was about £78,000.

1715.

Mabon's "History," Vol. I. p. 419.

CHAPTER VIII

1715-16. JAMES III. left Dunkerque for Scotland on the 26th December, writing the same day to the Duke of Orleans that words failed him to express his gratitude for all the marks of goodness he had received from that Prince :—

> "The moment of my departure is at hand, and I trust the time is not far distant when I may be able to give you proofs of the sincerity of my gratitude."

Some historians have accused James of dilatoriness in starting upon his hazardous adventure; but it is not easy for us to realise the slowness of travel, even under ordinary conditions, in the early part of the eighteenth century, nor how delay would be multiplied a hundredfold under the circumstances of secrecy and peril which surrounded James III. in his winter journey from St. Malo to Dunkerque, accompanied only by Charles Booth, his groom-of-the-chambers. Of the Dutch troops, asked for in September, announced on the 19th October, the first contingent did not arrive at Deptford until the 24th November, reaching Scotland on the 9th January;[1] while the contrary winds which hindered James from leaving Dunkerque, prevented the English artillery from leaving the Thames, and the Government was forced to order twelve pieces to be sent from Berwick, which only arrived at Stirling at the end of January. It may therefore be concluded that adverse circumstances and stress of

[1] "London, 29 Nov. 1715. . . . The arrival of the Dutch troops . . . . irritated the English to such a degree that a general insurrection was apprehended . . . during the last few months the Government has incarcerated some 10,000 persons. . . ."—*Pub. Rec. Off.*, *Roman Transcripts*, *Miscellaneous*, 168.

weather, and neither sloth nor backwardness to adventure his person, were the reasons of delays which were so detrimental to the Stuart cause. 1715-16.

On $\frac{\text{December 22}}{\text{January 2}}$ James landed at Peterhead, a promontory near Aberdeen, the signal making known his presence being a white flag on the masthead of his vessel, raised and lowered several times, answered from the shore by a white cloth shown on the nearest eminence. A boat was sent out with the word "Lochaber," the answer from the ship being "Lochiel." There is a ring of exultation in James's short note to Bolingbroke, at finding himself at last "in my own ancient kingdom," and he writes hopefully of the future. But the disappointment of the Scots, who expected he would bring a fleet and an army, when they saw their king arrive disguised and with a retinue of but five gentlemen and a few servants, was doubtless shared by him when he discovered the state of confusion in the Jacobite camp, "terms of accommodation pretty openly talked of," and but 4000 men left in Perth. Having lodged one night at Peterhead and the next at Newburgh, a house belonging to the Earl Marischal, James and his companions passed *incognito* through Aberdeen with two baggage-horses and came to Fetteresso, Lord Marischal's principal seat. Having dressed and declared himself, James there received the homage of the Duke of Mar and other gentlemen, and was proclaimed at the gates of the house. He intended to pursue his journey to Perth next day, but was seized with an agueish fit, which detained him at Fetteresso several days, during which his declarations dated from Commercy were dispersed and published, and he received addresses from the Episcopal Clergy, the Magistrates and the College of Aberdeen. He was able to leave for Brechin on Monday, $\frac{2}{12}$ January, where he remained two days, and thence went to Kinnaird and to Glamis. On Friday at eleven o'clock in the morning he made his public entry on horseback into Dundee, having the Duke of Mar on his right, Earl Marischal on his left, and a retinue of 300 mounted gentlemen. His friends desiring it, he continued about an hour on horseback in the

Sinclair "Memoirs."

Rae's "History," p. 351 *seq.*

1716. market-place, the people kissing his hand all the time. "My presence has had, and will have, I hope, good effect," he wrote to Bolingbroke. "The affection of the people is beyond all expression." He passed the night at the house of Stuart of Grantully, and went next day from Dundee to Castle Lyon, a seat of Lord Strathmore's, where he dined, and thence for the night to Sir David Thriepland's, arriving the following day, Sunday, at the ancient palace of Scoon, two miles from Perth. On Monday, $\frac{9}{19}$ January, he made his public entry into Perth, and reviewed the troops quartered in the town, returning the same night to Scoon.

In all later accounts of James's stay in Scotland a pamphlet entitled "The Proceedings at Perth" is always freely quoted, although unsupported by any contemporary authentical reports. It is an anonymous printed document purporting to be written by one of the private soldiers in the Scotch camp, and gives a dismal account of the Chevalier's want of spirit and dejection, his heavy countenance so that "our men began to despise him; some ask'd if he could speak." It is further complained that he "would not come abroad among us Soldiers, or to see us handle our arms or do our Exercise. . . ." As James's first act at Perth was to hold a review of the troops, and he described the tokens of the affection of the people towards him as "beyond expression," the anonymous pamphleteer is at once convicted of misstatement; and, although he is careful to speak twice of "us Soldiers," the whole style of the paper is so little that of a Scotchman or of a private soldier, that it may safely be disregarded as a political squib designed to discredit the King in the eyes of the eople.

Although James had never been in command of an army, he had made several campaigns, and was sufficiently versed in military affairs to be convinced, before he had been many days in Scotland, that without a force of regular troops nothing permanent could be effected; holding out through the winter under the protection of extraordinary severe weather being the utmost he could hope for. The

Dutch troops were arriving, and the Duke of Argyle was only waiting for them, and for the artillery from Berwick to march upon Perth. In the hope that his actual presence in Scotland would move the Duke of Orleans to depart from his resolution to give him no active assistance, James had written to that prince from Peterhead :— 1716.

". . . Create in my person a solid support for France, unite yourself to us as a useful friend, and give me the right to display without constraint the sentiments I have for you." "Affaires Étrangères," Lémontey.

From Brechin James wrote to Pope Clement XI. that Providence had guided him safely to his own kingdom, and would, he hoped, maintain him on the throne of his ancestors. He thanks the Pope for the promised balance of the subsidy of 100,000 crowns, which he begs may be sent without loss of time, and he writes the same day to Cardinal Gualterio :— "Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 484.

"With supplies of every kind I feel assured that by the spring we shall be in a position to take the offensive, without them we shall soon be overwhelmed."

Meanwhile he did not fail to take what steps were possible to strengthen his position. Lovat and Sutherland were still in possession of Inverness, and he orders Lord Huntly, in a spirited letter, dated Fetteresso, $\frac{\text{December 28}}{\text{January 8}}$, to lose no time, in conjunction with the Marquis of Seaforth, to reduce the place, "which, I hope, will be no hard task," Lord Sutherland being now surrounded by the loyal Jacobite force. James hopes that he and his men may be taken :—

"Such a number of prisoners would not only be of consequence to my service, but a great security to our own prisoners in England, for whom I am in great concern. Despatch is requisite on this occasion, and I heartily wish you the satisfaction of being yourself the first after my arrival that has gained an advantage over the enemy. When that is done you cannot see me too soon at Perth with your following. . . ." *Ibid.*

James also sent General Echlin to assist Huntly and Seaforth, and some curious letters passed between Huntly and Lovat, in an attempt to bring the latter back to his *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 538.

1716. allegiance to his rightful Sovereign. The matter resulted in a truce between Sutherland and Huntly, and we find a proclamation of February $\frac{16}{27}$, by Lord Sutherland, "taking into consideration" that a great number of the inhabitants of Inverness are justly reputed disaffected to the person and government of King George, and empowering and ordaining Simon, Lord Lovat, forthwith to disarm all the inhabitants of the burgh.

Several proclamations were issued by James from Scoon, requiring all his subjects fit to bear arms forthwith to repair to his camp—appointing Thursday, $\frac{\text{January 26}}{\text{February 6}}$, as a day of public thanksgiving for his safe arrival in Scotland —and fixing the day of his coronation for $\frac{\text{January 23}}{\text{February 3}}$. Lord Townshend expresses the alarm of the English Court in a letter to Horatio Walpole, Minister at the Hague:—

> "The Pretender is now in Perth, and is to be crowned King of Scotland. . . . They [the French] send over in single ships arms and ammunition, and officers; and those who are in the secret of their affairs seem confident, they shall be further and more openly assisted as soon as the season will permit. For my part I cannot think anything can divert the Regent from taking vigorously part with the Pretender, but a strict union amongst our old friends and allies, by which he will see that he cannot meddle with our affairs here without involving France in a new war with all Europe."[1]

Bib. Nat. "MS. Journal," Barbier.

The Prince's coronation as James VIII. of Scotland and III. of England was a scant and hurried ceremony shorn of all splendour, although many of the great ladies of Scotland lent their diamonds to adorn his crown, and the only allusion we find to it in the Stuart "Papers" is in a letter some years later from the Bishop of Rochester, in which he refers to the anniversary "of your Majesty's coronation."

Not only had the Pope sent subsidies to Scotland, but the King of Spain, after long delay, had sent Queen Mary of Modena 100,000 ducats in bars of gold for her son's service. By one of those half-measures which were so often the meed of James III., the Duke of Berwick, while refusing to take part in the expedition to Scotland, sent

[1] Coxe, *Walpole*, vol. i. p. 50.

his son, Lord Tynemouth, a youth scarcely out of his teens, with Sir John Erskine and Mr. Bulkeley (son of Lady Sophia Bulkeley, one of the Queen's ladies), to convey the gold to Scotland. The news reached Scoon that the vessel was lost off the coast of Fife, the crew and passengers saved, and the hulk, with the gold, still lying on the sandbank where she stranded. "Most of the Dutch are now in Fife," writes Mar to General Gordon, when sending him the news, and that a detachment to try to recover the gold must be a considerable one, which "we cannot spare from Perth." So the much-needed gold was lost. 1716

We have seen with what zeal, capacity, and success the Duke of Argyle had carried on the operations in Scotland, which did not, however, prevent him from being "suspect" to King George's Government. General Cadogan was sent in December to "assist" him, but in reality to report upon his conduct to the English Court. Cadogan's letters are still in existence, plainly accusing the Duke of disaffection; and had Argyle become aware of them, it is not impossible that he would have felt tempted to fulfil the prognostications of the chief of his staff.[1] The first is addressed to the Duke of M[arlborough]:—

"STIRLING, 3 [13] *Jan.* 17$\frac{15}{16}$.

". . . Each day produces some new instance of the D. of A.'s endeavouring by all sorts of underhand means, to make whatever I propose miscarry . . . his artifices . . . will not, however, be able to spoil matters, since the King's orders to him are positive for executing the project sent to London, and that he cannot pretend he wants anything when the artillery comes from Berwick . . . he desires nothing more than the appearance of an excuse not to act. . . ." Brit. Mus. Coxe "Papers," 9128, cxxxvii. H (39).

SAME TO SAME.

"EDINBURGH, 18 [28] *Jan.* 17$\frac{15}{16}$.

"The Duke of A.'s ill-humour encreases to such a degree, and his desires and designs to delay everything appear so manifestly that all people begin to take notice of it, . . . at the same time he makes great declarations of his intentions to end the Rebellion as soon as possible *Ibid.* (49).

[1] James wrote to the Duke from Kinnaird exhorting him to return to his allegiance.—*Stuart Papers*, Jan. $\frac{2}{13}$.

1716. and of marching to Perth, he lets falls such expressions about the number of the Rebels, the courage of the Highlanders, the exposing of Glasgow, and the badness of the weather, as are not only very discouraging from the Commander-in-Chief, but show very plainly that what he is ordered to undertake is against his inclination . . . there is but too much reason to apprehend he would not be very sorry it miscarried. . . . He does all he can to prevent my getting intelligence from Perth, and seven letters sent me from thence, have been opened before they came to me . . . which has very much hindered the correspondence I had established there. . . ."

SAME TO SAME.

Brit. Mus. Coxe "Papers," 9128, cxxxvii. H (52).

Same date.

" . . . The force of the Rebels, which the Duke of Argyle makes 12,000 men, is not 4000, and even if the arrival of the Pretender should bring back some of the dispersed clans, it will not exceed 6000. . . ."

At the same time the Duke of Argyle writes to Lord Townshend, complaining of bad troops, and adds :—

Ibid. (56).

" . . . I am told the Earl of Rothes [commanding in Fifeshire] has . . . been pleased to find fault with my conduct. If your Lordship would be so good as to let me know the fault I am supposed to have committed I will endeavour to justify myself. . . . It is indeed an unfortunate dilemma that I who have the name of commanding here, am reduced so that either I must make steps that in my judgment are detrimental to the service of His Majesty . . . or by refusing to act by the opinion of others, draw complaints against me that I fear are not without weight."

Copies of the instructions to the Duke of Argyle were sent to General Cadogan from London, and he persists in his criticism of his chief :—

Ibid. (61).

"STIRLING, *26th January* [*6th Feb.*].

"A hard frost and likely to continue. . . . The Duke of Argyle's behaviour is still the same ; . . . when we talk together about our march he protests in the most solemn manner he has nothing more at heart . . . he continues, however, to exclaim against it in private. . . ."

On the $\frac{\text{29 January}}{\text{9 February}}$ Argyle left Stirling for Perth, with his Dutch allies and the artillery from Berwick, but the Jacobites did not await his arrival. Perth was an open town, the French fencing-master's fortifications were ludicrous, and the Tay was frozen so hard that it could be crossed like the open plain. To hinder the enemy's

advance the harsh decree went forth, which Mar declared he had the greatest difficulty in getting James to consent to, that the villages of Auchterarder, Dinning, Blackford, Muthil, and Crieff should be burned. Mar wrote to General Gordon, $\frac{\text{January 24}}{\text{February 4}}$,— 1716.

"Most of those unlucky places belonging to Lord Drummond, he is certainly the fittest person to put the orders against them into execution, and he likes the King's service so well, that I know he will decline nothing which can contribute towards it."[1] "Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 496.

James gives his reasons for abandoning Perth in a letter to the Duke of Orleans:—

"Our retreat . . . was a very unfortunate event, but by no means unforeseen, for during the six weeks I have been in this country I have plainly seen that nothing but a considerable succour of arms, ammunition, and money could enable us to maintain ourselves here. Such a succour promptly sent, and a strong diversion in England could still help us to repair the past, our affairs being certainly in jeopardy, but by no means lost if you will speedily afford a remedy; but otherwise, as I have constantly informed you, it is impossible that we should hold out, in a corner of this kingdom against the whole strength of England helped by foreign troops. We look upon you as our only hope, we earnestly claim your instant help, and we cannot doubt that we shall receive it after all the hopes you have given us. . . ." *Ibid.* p. 504.

It is curious that this letter, in which James also says he is despatching Sir John Erskine to Paris to give a true account of the state of affairs, and in which there is no intimation of any intention to leave Scotland, but on the contrary an urgent appeal for instant help, should have been followed within twenty-four hours by James's "Letter of Adieu to the Scotch." The letter to the Regent is in French, and is evidently James's own composition; the letter to the Scotch is more in the style of Mar, and we are left to conjecture what pressure he must have used to persuade James to return to France.

The letter, dated Montrose, February $\frac{4}{15}$, states that James III. had delayed coming to Scotland in the hope of doing so "with more security and less hazard to his faithful

[1] James wrote to the Duke of Argyle, sending a sum of money for the ejected villagers, and said the act was forced on him by the violence of his rebellious subjects.

1716. servants," but no sooner had he heard that they were in arms, than laying aside all other motives and considerations he came immediately to join them—

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 505.

" . . . Full of hopes, . . . that our friends both at home and abroad would concurr with us. . . . The dismal prospect I found here at my arrival did not discourage me. . . . Since that time affairs have grown daily worse and worse, many friends at home were slow of declaring, the defeat of Preston, and the securing of many loyal noblemen and gentlemen deprived us of all succour in the South; the vast inequality twixt us and the enemies made our retreat from Perth unavoidable, as all men must see who know our circumstances, and that to have stood it then, would have only served to sacrifice you all without any possibility of success. . . .

Your safety and welfare was, I may say with truth, my only view, and I resolved not to let your courage and zeall carrie you so far as to serve for your own entire ruine . . . without doing any good to me or yourselves. . . . As I looked on my remaining among you not only as useless but as even destructive to you. . . . I took the partie to repass the seas . . . that I might leave such as cannot make their escape (to which nothing on my side has been neglected) in full libertie to take the properest measures for avoiding at least utter ruine. . . ."

The same day James gave a commission to Lieut.-General Alexander Gordon, appointing him Commander-in-Chief of all his forces in Scotland, and empowering him, if necessary, to treat with and conclude articles of capitulation with the enemy.

A curious commentary to the above letter is afforded by General Cadogan's letter from Dundee, February $\frac{4}{15}$, to the Duke of Marlborough:—

Brit. Mus. Coxe "Papers," 9128, cxxxvii. (63).

"The Duke of Argyle grows so intolerable uneasy, that 'tis almost impossible to live with him any longer, he is enraged at the success of this expedition, though he and his creatures attribute to themselves the honour of it; when I brought him the news of the Rebels being run from Perth, he seemed thunderstruck and was so visibly concerned at it, that even the Foreign officers that were in the room took notice. . . .

On the other hand, men like Gordon of Glenbucket had but one thought—to make a stand and fight for their King.

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. I. p. 507.

He writes to Lord Huntly on that same fateful $\frac{4}{15}$ February—

" . . . its fit express be sent to all your friends and followers to come in all haste to you, for now all hands must to work or perish. So for

God's sake let us do something worthy memory, and, if we fall, let us die like men of honour and resolution. Our cause is good and just. By the Lord's assistance I shall have all your men I have concern with ready to march in haste, . . . but this unlucky storm is so great in this country that I'm turned to my foot which is heavy on me, but I hope no fatigue will undo me as long as the King and your lordship has anything to do. I need not insist but leave you to the direction and protection Almighty." 1716.

If General Cadogan's estimate of the Duke of Argyle was correct—and he was not alone in it,—had men like Gordon of Glenbucket replaced Mar in the counsels of James, it is not impossible that Argyle would have seized upon a show of resistance and defence of Perth to come to terms. It was one thing to fight Lord Mar, it was another to oppress the rightful King of Scots and his faithful subjects on behalf of a Hanoverian Prince.[1]

The retreat of the Jacobite forces, many of the Highlanders dispersing on the road, was made in good order from Perth to Dundee, and thence to Montrose. They were unmolested by the pursuing army, which entered Dundee a day after they had left. The failure of Lords Huntly and Seaforth to retake Inverness left the Jacobite King without any stronghold in the north, and on the night of the $\frac{4}{15}$ February he and the Duke of Mar secretly left Montrose on board a French vessel, the *Marie Thérèse*, and landed at Gravelines six days later.

To secure the safety of the King's person, the last of his line, whose death or capture would have extinguished Jacobite hopes for ever, was no doubt wise and prudent, but Mar's case was different. The rising of 1715 had been his work, and his rash ignorance and incapacity had brought it to ruin. His going or staying would, in fact, make little difference to the men who had placed their lives and fortunes in his hands, but they naturally deeply resented his secret evasion from the country, which he cloaked under the express orders of his Majesty.[2]

[1] The Duke of Argyle was removed from all his places, and his pension of £2000 a year superseded, in the following July.

[2] Lord Marischal and others also loudly accused Lord Mar of having tried, even before James's arrival, to make special terms for himself with the Duke of Argyle, to their exclusion.

1716. Earl Marischal, who had ridden by the King's side, and Colonel Clephan, whose case was doubly perilous, as he had left the English army to join James, were left behind, though Mar says in a letter from Gravelines that the King waited for them an hour and a half. Young Lord Tynemouth, as his father, the Duke of Berwick, notes in his *Memoirs*, was left, unwarned, to make the best of his way back to France; which did not prevent him, in after-years, as Duke of Liria, from being one of James's most faithful and devoted servants. James's first act on reaching Gravelines was to despatch two vessels, one to Peterhead and the other to Fraserburgh, to bring off such of his partisans as could get away.

General Gordon reached Aberdeen with little more than 1000 men, and when Argyle entered the town on February $\frac{8}{19}$, the whole Jacobite army had melted away.

No outburst of popularity greeted King George on the success of his arms; on the contrary, hatred of him and his Government increased in the country, as batch after batch of Jacobite prisoners—twenty-five, six, eight at a time—were sent to the scaffold during the year. The head of Colonel Oxburgh, set upon Temple Bar in July; Richard Gascoigne, executed at Tyburn a few days later; indictments for high treason brought against Sir William Wyndham, Lord Lansdowne, Standish of Standish, Muncaster, Widdrington, and so many more of the best blood of England and Scotland; while Lord Oxford lay still untried in the Tower, did but deepen resentment against the foreign Prince who had brought foreign troops into England. The chronicles of the year are full of tumults and riots all over the country, in Oxford and Norwich especially; soldiers whipped, almost to death, for wearing oak-boughs in their hats on the 29th of May; schoolmasters and clergymen fined and imprisoned; the Rev. Mr. William Paul executed with Mr. Hall, a Northumbrian Justice of the Peace, at Tyburn in July; the crime of drinking James's health visited with imprisonment, while one Thomas Shirley of Norwich was whipped

Salmon, Vol. II. pp. 61-68.

for saying, "*King George has no more right to the crown than I have.*" Guards were posted all over London on James's birthday, $\frac{10}{21}$ June, to prevent the wearing white roses; one Forden, a printer, being shot dead in Newgate Street for so doing. The extraordinary number of evasions from prison prove the connivance and sympathy exercised towards the Jacobites; and when Mr. Pitt, the keeper of Newgate, was indicted for high treason for suffering Forster and others to escape, he was acquitted. 1716.

Six lords had been condemned to death—Widdrington, Carnwath, and Nairne, as well as Derwentwater, Nithsdale, and Kenmure. Extraordinary efforts were made to obtain their reprieve; the House of Lords moved an address to the Crown on their behalf, and the House of Commons, where several Whigs, including Sir Richard Steele, made speeches in favour of mercy, decided by the narrow majority of seven votes to adjourn over the day of execution, "to avoid importunity." The Ministers assembled in Council, where debate ran high, but such manifestations could not be altogether disregarded, and it was resolved to reprieve Lords Carnwath, Nairne, and Widdrington, and to execute the sentence upon the other three lords the following day, $\frac{\text{February 24}}{\text{March 5}}$. The Lord President, the Earl of Nottingham, who took the merciful side, soon felt the resentment of the Court, himself and all who were related to him being turned out of their places soon after, and his pension of £2500 a year suppressed. For George was implacable, and not to be moved to compassion when every heart was stirred, of friend and foe alike, in sympathy with the gallant men whose crime was that of upholding the cause of their rightful Sovereign; and the reception he gave to Lady Nithsdale and Lady Nairne, when they threw themselves at his feet to petition for their husbands' lives, added nothing to his reputation in the eyes of the English.[1]

[1] "He dragged me upon my knees from the middle of the room to the very door of the drawing-room. . . . The petition . . . fell down in the scuffle, and I almost fainted away through grief and disappointment."—Letter of Lady Nithsdale to her sister.

1716. When Lord Derwentwater's body was taken to Northumberland for burial, the occasion was made memorable by such a scene of mourning as the country had never known; and was witnessed, it is said, with ruth and remorse, by the Duke of Argyle, who met the funeral procession on his way back from Scotland; and the northern lights which appeared with extraordinary brilliancy that night, the 6th of March, "continuing till Three in the morning to the great consternation of the People," are called "Derwentwater lights" in Northumbria to this day.[1]

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. II. p. 84. Salmon, Vol. II. p. 59.

No greater proof of the state of feeling in the country and of the fears of the Ministry could be afforded, than by the fact that when, in the month of May, George's first parliament was drawing to a close, and it was determined to substitute septennial for triennial parliaments, the Court did not venture upon a general election; frankly avowing that there was such a ferment in the country that an election would probably occasion another rebellion. The bold and simple scheme was devised, of prolonging the mandate of the present Whig House of Commons for four more years without re-election. The proposal was received by the Tories with loud disapproval as flagrantly unconstitutional; and with the sarcastic remark by one of the members that if they had the right thus to give themselves a fresh lease of life, "they had it in their Power to make themselves perpetual; they could no longer be said to subsist by the Choice of the People, but by their own appointment." The Whig majority was docile, Walpole gained his point, and the rejuvenated House, whether irregularly constituted or not, secured to the Whig Ministry four years wherein to consolidate the succession of Hanover.[2]

Ibid. p. 62.

[1] Argyle "both heard and saw the great murmurs of the people, and what honours they paid his dead body, and what vast concourses went to meet it in all the towns it was carried through. . . ."—Hugh Thomas to David Nairne, *Calendar Stuart Papers*, *Windsor*, vol. ii. p. 84.

[2] The Bishop of Rochester, in his speech in the Lords, "complimented, bantered, and lashed the Ministry to a wonderful degree. . . . An essential part of it was to admire the happiness of this free nation that was now governed by a standing Parliament and a standing army, etc."—J. Menzies to L. Inese, *Calendar Stuart Papers*, *Windsor*, vol. ii. p. 131.

If the cause of James III. seemed to be gaining ground, in spite of disaster, in Britain, it was not so on the Continent. He returned to France, having failed, and had to pay the penalty. The kind-hearted Duke of Lorraine did not venture to receive him again at Bar-le-Duc, and suggested that he should go to Deux Ponts, belonging to the King of Sweden. Philip V., when appealed to as one of his nearest relations, could not, at a time when delicate negotiations about a treaty of commerce between Spain and England were going on, jeopardise them by giving hospitality to so dangerous a guest; and the Duke of Orleans, in reply to a memorial presented by Lord Stair, while pointing out that nothing could better prove that the Chevalier de St. George had not been assisted by France, than the destitute condition in which he had arrived in Scotland, declared that he had already employed his authority to oblige him to quit the kingdom of France.

1716.

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. II. pp. 15, 20.

After bidding farewell—which was to prove their last farewell—to the Queen, his mother, at St. Germains, James, before going to Commercy to meet the Duke of Lorraine, with the result we have just stated, went to the house of Mademoiselle de Chausseraye, in the Bois de Boulogne, much frequented by prominent Jacobites of both sexes, where he met the Spanish and Swedish Ambassadors in secret conference.[1] He there received a messenger from his friends in England, whose report, added to what he learned from other sources, determined him to take the grave step of dismissing Lord Bolingbroke from his service. The Duke of Ormonde was sent to him to demand the Seals, which, a few days later, were given to the Duke of Mar.

The reasons for Bolingbroke's dismissal were set forth in a paper addressed to the King's friends in England. General George Hamilton had been sent to Paris by

Stuart "Papers," Windsor, March 10.

[1] Chief among the feminine Jacobite intriguers, *the nymphs*, as they were called, were Olive Trant (afterwards married to the Prince d'Auvergne), daughter of Sir Patrick Trant, a wealthy lawyer, and the Marquise de Mézières, and her sisters Anne and Fanny Oglethorpe.

1716. James, immediately upon his arrival in Scotland, with a message that the want of arms and powder was extreme, and that he must abandon Scotland unless immediately supplied:—

> " . . . Yet Lord Bolingbroke amused General Hamilton for fifteen days, and for twelve days did not communicate the letters he had brought to the Queen. It was near five months from . . . when Lord Mar set up the King's Standard to the 4th February . . . yet all that time not one musket nor barrel of powder was sent, except 1400 weight of powder sent round by Ireland, although above a dozen ships sent by Lord Bolingbroke . . . arrived in Scotland during that period. . . . Count Castel Blanco had 8000 arms and 24,000 weight of powder ready at Havre these four months past, and often importuned Lord Bolingbroke to ship them for Scotland, but was putt off and delayed to this moment. Sir John Erskine . . . in a very few days procured 13,000 arms and 12,000 weight of powder, with assurance of 8000 more . . . but it was too late, for the King and the Duke of Mar landed in France three or four days after him. From the time of the King's embarking at Dunkerque . . . which was seven weeks, Lord Bolingbroke never once wrote to the King. . . . The chiefs of this French Court have all along had a very bad opinion both of the discretion and integrity of Lord Bolingbroke. . . ."

James was blamed by the Duke of Berwick for dismissing the man who, of all Englishmen, was most capable of serving him; but Berwick did not know that Bolingbroke, too well versed in public affairs not to be aware how desperate was the enterprise upon which James had embarked, had ceased to interest himself in it, and had authorised Lord Stair to propose a return to his allegiance to the House of Hanover, ere James had returned from Scotland. The answer, dated March 28, was prompt; if Lord Bolingbroke was ready to come to England "and tell all," Stair was to give him "all suitable hope and encouragement." But this was more than Bolingbroke was prepared for. He was willing to draw such a picture of the Pretender, and of the danger religion and liberty would run with him as would make the Tories return to their allegiance to King George, but for that it was necessary that he should not lose his reputation or pass for an informer. Stair's despatch to Stanhope reporting his conversation with Bolingbroke met with no reply, and the matter dropped, to be renewed later.

Pub. Rec. Off., Stanhope to Stair.

We have also Lord Stair's jocular comment to Horatio Walpole upon "poor Harry's" dismissal:— 1716.

"... He had a mistress here in Paris, and got drunk now and then, and he spent *the money* upon his mistress that he should have bought powder with, and neglected buying the powder and arms, and never went near the Queen. ..." Coxe, Vol. II. p. 307.

After leaving Commercy, James waited in hiding at Chalons for the advice of the Queen and Ormonde and Mar as to his next move. They were all of opinion that Deux Ponts was out of the question without being assured of his reception there, and of a safe-conduct, which would probably not be granted. "Since the Duke of Lorraine will not let you stay longer in his dominions, and that you are not permitted to make any stay in France," writes Ormonde, "it is our humble opinion that your Majesty should not delay going immediately to Avignon. ..."

However greatly it might be against his inclination and his interest to turn his steps towards Avignon, James had no alternative. The world would see that he was forced to it, and the bad consequences of becoming the guest of the Pope, when every other country had closed its doors against him, must be prevented by explanations at home. While at Chalons he received the news of the execution of Lords Derwentwater and Kenmure, and sent the "last speech" of Derwentwater to the Duke of Lorraine, "it deserves to be translated to you."

"... These are sad tidings, but alas, there are none other at present, and they are so oppressive to me that I should hold myself in some sort happy if I were alone unhappy, but the death of so many innocent men, of which I see myself the innocent cause, pierces me to the heart. ..." Imp. Archives, Vienna.

From Chalons James also wrote to Pope Clement XI. and to Cardinal Gualterio announcing his departure for Avignon. There was no time to await an answer, so anxious was the Duke of Orleans to be rid of Lord Stair's importunities, and James took the Pope's consent for granted. He refers Gualterio to the Queen's and Nairne's letters: "the past being too painful and too long a subject to be entered on here."

1716. On April 2 he entered the Papal city, attended by the Duke of Mar and a small retinue, having written from Lyons to Monsignor Salviati, the Vice-Legate, that he wished to be "not only *incognito*, but even, if possible, unknown" at first, as he had so few with him. The Duke of Ormonde arrived on the 4th, and the number of Jacobites increased daily, as batch after batch of Scotch gentlemen escaped to the Continent in the five ships which, chiefly by the exertions and influence of the Queen, had been sent to their rescue, and landed them in different French ports, while some were carried to Gothenburg, Ostend, or Rotterdam. Chief among them were Earl Marischal, Lords Southesk, Tullibardine, Linlithgow, and Kilsyth, Lord Edward Drummond, Lord George Murray, Brigadier Cooke and Colonel Haydon, with forty-three Irish officers and many Scots, who were brought off South Uist in the *Marie Thérèse*. Lord Tynemouth and Mr. Bulkeley, Lord Duffus, General Gordon, Lochiel, Keppoch, and Colonel John Hay, Mar's brother-in-law by his first wife, and many more announced their arrival and hairbreadth escapes. They had saved their heads, but their estates were forfeit; and to keep them from starving, and not to let their presence make itself obtrusive in France under the jealous eye of Lord Stair, was the arduous and delicate task of James III. and of Queen Mary of Modena. As many as possible were placed in the Irish regiments of France and Spain and elsewhere; and Bordeaux, Blois, Rouen, as well as St. Germains, had contingents of Jacobites.

Marchand, "Les Stuarts à Avignon."

The number at Avignon by the month of July reached, counting servants, between 400 and 500 persons, Lords Nithsdale, Panmure, and Tullibardine among them, and Sir William Ellis, James's treasurer, brought with him from St. Germains the welcome budget of 80,000 ducats in gold. The stately old Pontifical city witnessed with great interest this peaceful invasion, which brought unwonted bustle and animation within its walls; and, as had been the case in Lorraine, James III. secured great popularity at once by his kind and gracious bearing. The house of M. de Serre, near the church of St. Didier, had been

taken for him, but soon had to be enlarged by annexing a portion of the d'Entraigues palace next door. Two lists are preserved in the archives of Avignon of the principal personages, numbering 150, of the Jacobite Court. After the Duke of Ormonde, described as Commander-in-Chief, and the Duke of Mar, Secretary of State, come the names of fourteen lords, four lieutenant-generals and four brigadiers, fourteen colonels and lieutenant-colonels, ten majors, twenty-four captains, and six lieutenants. There were four secretaries and under-secretaries, ten doctors and *chirurgiens*, one *contrôleur de bouche*, one *chef des gobelets*, one *chef de cuisine*, etc., etc. James brought two Protestant chaplains, Dr. Charles Leslie and Zechie [Ezechiel] Hamilton, who had been an active secret agent between St. Germains and the English Jacobites. He brought no Catholic priests with him, choosing a confessor, Father Viganegue, and a chaplain, Abbé Curnier of St. Didier, at Avignon, which facts were duly made known in England. 1716.

It was by no means a melancholy Court; the Jacobite lords were mostly young, and were heartily well received and entertained by the chief people of the province—balls and routs and dinners succeeding each other without interruption; and although the Prince at first took little part in them, out of respect to the faithful servants who had suffered on the scaffold, he took his share in the entertainments offered and received. The families of Villefranche and d'Eyssautier were foremost in offering him welcome, and on his birthday, June $\frac{10}{21}$, M. d'Eyssautier gave a great *ambigu*, to which were invited "all the English and the ladies and gentlemen of the town." In the courteous rivalry to afford some amusement and distraction to the exiled King, the Doni family, lords of Goult, easily bore away the palm. They were of Roman origin, and the two brothers, with their wives and daughters, exercised hospitality on the scale of Mæcenas of old. There was the unusual event of an opera during the winter, and the Carnival of 1717 was brilliant, the Vice-Legate opening his palace every Thursday for a ball with "*grands jeux et boissons.*" The Avignonese chronicler describes James as

1716. of light-brown complexion, with "a gracious air, a little melancholy. His gait is firm and easy."

But there were graver matters than dancing and merrymaking to occupy the Stuart king. The Duke of Leeds, who has been mentioned once or twice as a militant Jacobite, was the son of Lord Danby, first Duke, who had been one of William of Orange's chief instruments of revolution, and whose repentance had been carried to James II. at St. Germains by the faithful Earl of Ailesbury. The Duke writes from Paris to James at Avignon on the 3rd April, that he has good reason to believe that Admiral Baker, in command of a British squadron in the Mediterranean, "could be persuaded to bring that squadron to your Majesty's obedience." If, on his way to the English Channel, Baker might take in the Irish troops in Spain, which the Duke estimates at 5000, "I would be answerable with my head it would ensure your Majesty's restoration." The writer goes into detail, and encloses a letter and a paper of instructions for Baker, in which reminding him, "I persuade myself you do not forget the time when I had the honour to hoist the red flag at fore-topmast-head on board the ship under your command," he proceeds to urge him to perform "the most noble service to your country that has ever yet been in the power of any Admiral," and to restore "our only true and rightful King, James III. . . . and three enslaved nations to their just rights."

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. II. p. 51 *seq.*

> ". . . I can take God to witness that I had not a thought when I engaged in it (and I am sure my father neither) that the Prince of Orange's landing would end in deposing the King; but far the contrary, as I can make it appear (were I in England) by letters under that Prince's hand."

The reward to Admiral Baker is to be the rank of an earl and £200,000 to support that dignity.

> ". . . Consider that the fleet was the first to declare for King Charles II., and reflect well on the great honour and rewards General Monk deservedly got by the part he acted in the restoration. Do you follow such worthy examples and enjoy the same recompense. . . ."

Ibid. p. 76.

James made answer that not being sure of having any

Robert Hurley, Earl of Oxford.

Sir Godfrey Kneller.

of his Irish troops "on which supposition your whole plan is laid," it would be advisable to make no steps till there is appearance that they may be granted him— 1716.

> "Your advice and opinion shall always be most welcome to me, and the Commission [of Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet] lately sent you ought to be an earnest of the desire I shall ever have of doing what lies in me to show you all the favour and distinction you justly deserve."[1]

Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, was at this time one of the most active Jacobites in London; Robert Leslie, son of James's chaplain, and Zechie Hamilton describe in their letters to Avignon the meetings held by the Bishop with General Webb and Sir Henry Goring, with Lord Arran and Sir Constantine Phipps. Regular troops are, of course, a *sine qua non*; with 6000 and the King in person, General Webb has declared he would undertake to beat all the forces which could, on a sudden, be brought together in England. A new recruit also appeared in the person of David Colyear, Earl of Portmore, who had married Catherine Sedley, Countess of Dorchester. He will cheerfully come in to any attempt to be made in England, and has £30,000 ready for the purpose.

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. II. p. 67.

Ibid. p. 69.

A greater man was once again making up his mind to support the legitimate king; Lord Oxford wrote from his prison in the Tower to James offering his services, recommending the Bishop of Rochester as the fittest person to manage Jacobite affairs in England, he himself being in custody, and adding that he would never have thought it safe to engage again with his Majesty if Bolingbroke had been still about him.[2]

Bolingbroke was at the same moment making a fresh

[1] There are several letters on the subject, but Admiral Baker does not seem to have been approached. James's warrant to "our Right trusty and Well beloved . . . Peregrine Duke of Leeds," is in the British Museum. Leeds Papers, Add. MS. 28,050 (130).

[2] This important document, dated Sept. 1716, has disappeared from among the Stuart Papers. It was seen by Sir J. Macintosh at Carlton House, who took the above extracts from it. Lord Oxford's "messenger" is referred to in a letter from Mar to Menzies of the 28th September.—*Stuart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 480.

1716. attempt to gain the favour of George I. He wrote a private letter to Sir William Wyndham, which he sent unsealed to young Craggs, son of the Postmaster-General, who was, at his discretion, to send it to Wyndham, or destroy it. Craggs, as Bolingbroke no doubt expected, carried it to Lord Townshend, who took a copy to send to George I. at Hanover, and then forwarded the original to Sir William, hoping it might cure him of Jacobitism. Having thus prepared the ground, Bolingbroke, a few months later wrote his famous open letter to Sir William Wyndham, which was to be his object of barter with the Court, wherewith to gain his pardon. But abuse of the Pretender, of Ormonde, Mar, and the Irish papists, however virulent and ably expressed, did not satisfy George I. and Lord Stanhope; if he would not *tell all* that was necessary to betray the English Tories into their hands, he might remain unpardoned. When at last, some years later, he was allowed to return to England, he considered himself released from all obligation to the Government, and was soon in opposition, allied with old Tories and discontented Whigs. The letter remained unpublished until after his death, when it was comprised in the collection of his works; and it is surprising to find a document with such a history so often gravely quoted, even by serious writers, as genuine evidence to the detriment of James III. and his servants.

Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 35,587 (318).

Besides constant negotiations with Baron de Spaar in view of obtaining the help of troops from Sweden, where Charles XII. and his people were as anxious to recover the Duchies of Bremen and Werden, as George I. was determined to keep them, James thought of sending an envoy to Vienna to get the support of the Emperor.[1] But Charles VI. had signed the treaty of Westminster in June

[1] The negotiations between General Dillon, James's agent in Paris, Baron de Spaar, and Baron Goertz, are given at length in the Stuart Papers. The British subjects in the French and Spanish service, amounting to ten battalions and three regiments of horse, might, according to Dillon, be obtained by "a leave in form, or a connivance" from the Regent and Philip V. A large sum of money was obtained from the King's friends in England, and sent to Charles XII. for the purpose of the enterprise.—*Calendar Stuart Papers, Windsor*, vol. ii. p. 477.

and by the friendly advice of the Duke of Lorraine the project was abandoned. 1716.

"The Duke is persuaded," writes Owen O'Rourke, whom James had meant to employ and who was then at Luneville, "that I would not be long there before I had been bid away shamefully, and my errand produce no other effect, but to stir up the attention, and vehement measures of the English, Hanoverian, and Dutch Ministers. . . ." "Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. II. p. 238.

James had confided to the Duke the determined efforts being made by the English Court to drive him from Avignon. Surprised and afflicted, the Duke could only reply that residence in Lorraine was impracticable, and that Italy seemed the only refuge left. *Ibid.* p. 255.

The English Court was in fact pressing the Regent hard; three points were insisted upon, the removal of the Pretender to Italy, the destruction of the Mardyke Canal, and the dismissal of all "rebels" from France—the first to precede the signing of the Triple Alliance. It was no easy matter to drive the Stuart King out of Avignon which, although part of Provence, was still in the possession of the Holy See; but "Beyond the Alps" had been the order of the Elector of Hanover to his representatives in London in the reign of Queen Anne; "Beyond the Alps" had been his first urgent request to the Regent upon Louis XIV.'s death, and the same demand was peremptorily insisted upon, almost under threat of war, before George I. would set his hand to the treaty. Once in the Papal States, the Pretender would, it was hoped, greatly lose in popularity, prejudice against Rome would cover him as a garment, and the idea could be carefully fostered that it was impossible for Englishmen to accept a king from the hands of the Pope. When it was pointed out to the Regent that he could not send James out of Avignon without the Pope's consent, the Duke drily remarked that there was a method, that of starvation; which was in effect put into practice by stopping the payment of the Queen's pension. Lord Stair informs Secretary Methuen of the fact, and also that the troops in Languedoc are ready to march, if the first method fails. P. R. O. Stair to Stanhope, France, June 27, 1716. *Ibid.* Oct. $\frac{7}{17}$.

1716. Still another method, and the most efficacious, if successful, of all, meanwhile recommended itself to Lord Stair—that of sending the Pretender out of the world altogether—and the failure at Nonancourt would be retrieved at Avignon. The intercepted letter of La Grange, the would-be assassin, to Lord Stair, is among the Gualterio papers.[1] The matter is referred to by the Vice-Legate of Avignon, Monsignor Salviati, in a letter to the Cardinal, of September 2; and the Duke of Mar, writing to Sir Patrick Lawless in Spain, speaks "of a most hellish design . . . discovered by the greatest accident in the world," and which shows "how insecure" his enemies "think themselves as long as Le Vasseur (James) is in being."[2] While the last of the Stuarts was thus being pursued, the head of his Church thus spoke of him:—

Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,311, f. 342, 344.

Ibid. 20,472, f. 182.

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. II. p. 400.

Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 20,311, f. 356. Cardinal Pauluccito Cardinal Gualterio.

> "Tell the Nuncio we cannot agree with those who call the King of England unhappy and unfortunate; but rather, using the language of the Church who calls martyrs happy and martyrdoms triumphs, we consider him most happy and most fortunate who finds himself exiled from his kingdom, abandoned by the whole world and reduced to penury, for no other reason than for having remained faithful to God and constant to the Catholic religion. . . . Unhappy rather is Great Britain . . . deprived of her legitimate King. Unhappy and worthy of compassion are those Catholic Princes who, possessing the power to assist him, . . . for political reasons opposed to their true glory abstain from doing so. Moreover, were the King of England in peaceful and unquestioned possession of his kingdom, he would have in history, sacred as well as profane, many superiors and innumerable equals; deprived of it for such a cause, there may perhaps be found none to surpass him, and very few to compare with him. . . ."

The Pope concludes with a message to the Queen that

[1] *See* Appendix J.

[2] Even before this discovery the Vice-Legate expressed his uneasiness at the very little care the King took of his own safety. He had no guard, and it was with difficulty Salviati persuaded him to place one of his own Swiss at his palace door. The Legate thinks it is from motives of economy that the King dispenses with a guard, but that he would accept one if offered by the Pope. In later letters he says he has written to the Queen to urge her son to be more careful, and that he is ready to tear his hair at the want of precaution on the part of the King's followers. He spoke in the highest terms of "this most worthy King," and says that his Court is composed of men "of singular merit, in perfect union with each other, and full of zeal for their most estimable monarch."—*Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 20,472, f. 184, 198.

he blushes at the smallness of the allowance, 10,000 Roman *scudi* per annum, which is all his present circumstances permit him to make to her son the King. 1716.

Not only was active correspondence going on with Sweden for troops, and with Spain for subsidies, of which Lord Stair, informed by his spies, sent regular tidings to London, but we find letters from James at Avignon to Sir William Wyndham, the Bishop of Edinburgh, Lord Nottingham, and the Duke of Shrewsbury among the Stuart papers. The eccentric young Marquis of Wharton,[1] eighteen years of age, offered his allegiance and his service in long letters to James and to the Duke of Mar. The following passage occurs in his letter to Mar, dated Lyons, September 25 :— "Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. II. pp. 406, 407, 453, 374.

> ". . . My father's zeal for the usurper and his share in supporting a cause, which for his sake I will not give the deserved epithets to, probably raised in your mind a mistrust of my loyalty, but His Majesty is too just to let me suffer for the faults of my ancestors. . . . However, to satisfy you both, I do solemnly protest and declare . . . that I will always, to my last breath, serve nor know no other King of England but James III. and his lawful heirs. . . . I beg this letter may be kept with care, that, if ever I should depart in the least from my present sentiments, it may rise up in judgment against me, and show me to be the last of mankind." *Ibid.* p. 471.

He offers to repair, either publicly or privately, as the King thinks fit, to Avignon, and asks for a commission in the army, engaging to raise a regiment of horse at his own expense in a week, having arms enough ("those which my father used in the rebellion of 1688"). Buckinghamshire, Westmoreland, Wiltshire, and part of Yorkshire will assuredly follow him ; "and if we ever see another Parliament I am sure of getting fourteen of my friends elected, which you may learn by anybody acquainted with my family."

The letter ends with a request for the Garter, which he promises never to disclose nor wear publicly till it is for the King's interest. James received him privately at Avignon, gave him a commission of Colonel of Horse, but

[1] Philip, second Marquis, and Duke of Wharton, 1698-1731.

1716. "Calendar Stuart Papers," Vol. II. p. 487.

refused the Garter for the present, having put off disposing "anything of that kind while he is here." A request for a dukedom with the title of Northumberland was granted, for we find a warrant among the papers, dated October 2, 1716, creating him Viscount Winchendon, Earl of Malmesbury, and Duke of Northumberland, to remain latent, evidently, until the King's restoration.

Sickness laid James low in the autumn; an operation became necessary, which the Queen sent Guérin, one of the first surgeons in Paris, to perform. Uttermost secrecy was enjoined, so as not to damp the spirits of the Jacobites; but although the Queen did not even let Guérin know whom he was being sent to attend, the news was immediately published in the Dutch, English, and French *Gazettes*.[1]

Stuart "Papers," Windsor.

A few days later Mary of Modena had news to send to Avignon, "so bad that I dare not write it to the King, and I do conjure you," she writes to Mar, "to keep it from him until he is in a condition to support it." The triple alliance between England, France, and Holland was finally agreed upon, Dubois and Stanhope having secretly met in Holland, and publicly at Hanover (where George I., rather to the dismay of the English Ministry, had gone in the month of July), and settled the various articles, chief of which was clause II., stipulating that the Pretender should be constrained to quit Avignon with all his followers, and cross the Alps, never again to return to France. The Queen boldly told Marshal de Villeroy, who had been sent to her by the Regent with the news, that in her opinion the King, her son, should wait to be turned out by force of arms. Although many considerable persons in France, as Lord Stair wrote to Secretary Methuen, were of opinion that the Regent "would not come to that extremity with the Pope," he declared, through Marshal d'Uxelles to Abbé Lewis Inese, that he had no alternative. Nothing he had accorded to their

Ibid. Dec. 11, 1716.

[1] Both the Vice-Legate and the Duke of Mar testified to the endurance of James. "Guérin assured me, as the simple truth," writes the former to Cardinal Gualterio (October 28), "that he had never before met with such endurance."

enemies had cost him so much pain, but the good of the State had forced him to it, despite his repugnance; the English insisted upon this article as the base of the whole treaty and its most essential condition. It would grieve His Royal Highness, urged d'Uxelles, to be obliged to send troops into the States of the Pope, and he would do what lay in him to avoid it:— 1716-17.

"But if the thing is unavoidable, you may be assured it will be done. We are already so ill with the Pope that to be a little more or less so will not stop us if the King of England forces us to it. Will he go, without obliging us to the last extremities, or will he not?"

Inese replies that the King's friends in England and abroad have advised him not to leave Avignon before French troops actually arrive there. He further asks, why force him across the Alps? Why not leave him free to go where he pleases, provided he leaves France? But d'Uxelles is inflexible; crossing the Alps is the indispensable point; once on the other side, he may go where he likes.

We realise the importance of the point, the anxiety of James to stay on the hither side of the Alps, and of George to send him beyond them, from an earlier letter of James to Clement XI., written in answer to the Pope's offer of any of his towns in Italy as a residence. After expressing his hearty thanks for the offer, he continues:— Pub. Rec. Off., Roman Transcripts, Miscellaneous, June 22, 1716.

"But I flatter myself that I shall never be obliged to avail myself of it, for your Holiness knows what a fatal stroke a voyage into Italy would inflict upon my interests. I am already but too far away from home, and with your approbation I shall not think of leaving this place except to draw nearer to my own country. . . ."

Although Lord Stair was pleased to express the opinion that the Pretender's illness was fictitious, and that the Regent had promised he should be out of Avignon "in six weeks, sick or well," James's convalescence was slow. He went out for the first time on the 8th December, was carried in a chair to the Célestins on the 15th, and Guérin, the surgeon, did not leave Avignon until January 3.[1] Pub. Rec. Off., France, Oct. 28.

[1] Doubt and uncertainty probably retarded his recovery. "I see," writes the Vice-Legate to Cardinal Gualterio, "that his Majesty is desirous that what

1716-17. The eventful year of 1716 did not close without another blow to the Stuarts, and from an unexpected quarter. The Pope's affection for James and admiration of his incomparable mother, could not blind him to the necessities of the Catholics of England. George I. had not forgotten them in his measures of reprisal and repression,—an Act had been passed in June "to enquire of the Estates of Popish Recusants . . . in order to raise money out of them severally for the Use of the Public," followed by an Act "to oblige Papists to register their Names and real Estates," and an Act "for the more effectual and exemplary punishment of such Persons who . . . being Papists shall enlist themselves in His Majesty's service."

A certain number of Catholics, including the Duke of Norfolk, in order to save their estates, already burdened with the payment of double taxes, from further spoliation, began to entertain the thought of taking an oath of allegiance to the Government, if such an oath could be formulated, which they could subscribe without hurt of conscience. Bishop Stonor, one of the Vicars Apostolic, and a certain Abbé Strickland were the chief ecclesiastical movers of this attempt at the solution of a problem which was to be in agitation for years, nearly resulting in a schism among the Catholics of England. Various forms of oath were proposed, and the Secretary of Propaganda, in an interesting letter to Monsignor Santini, Internuncio at Brussels, declared that Catholics not only might, but ought to take the civil oath to the Government, "every man being bound to be faithful to his Prince . . . according to the precept of the Apostle *reddite omnibus debita cui tributum, tributum, cui vectigal, vectigal, cui timorem, timorem, cui honorem, honorem*, . . . and *Subjecti estote . . . sive regi, sive ducibus, et obedite propositis vestris, et quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, etc.*[1]

Pub. Rec. Off., Roman Transcripts, Miscellanea, 67.

is to happen, may happen quickly, for this state of insecurity is the most distressful of all; his resignation and constancy are admirable."—*Add. MSS.* 20,472, f. 200.

[1] The following form of oath was sent from Rome to the Internuncio :—"I, N, promise and swear to be a true and faithful subject to H.M. King George, and shall in no way disturb the peace and tranquillity of his realm, nor assist

Cæsar had in fact proved himself Cæsar, three monarchs of the new dynasty had succeeded unopposed to the throne, and five attempts to restore the legitimate line had failed. And whatever discontent and feelings of revolt might now possess the minds of the bulk of the population, there had not been that vast uniform upheaval which would have proved that they found the yoke of Hanover intolerable. On the other hand, the Catholics of England, as was shown in a report made in 1710 by a secret agent from Rome, apart from their disability of all civil and military employment, and their double taxation, were not actively persecuted for their religion.[1] 1716-17.

The delicate matter was treated with great circumspection; the Internuncio was directed to give no public or written decision, nor as under instructions from Rome, but as if "of his own prudence." A protest from James had immediately been delivered to the Pope by Cardinal Gualterio, against any oath whatever; the Pope submitted the protest to the "Consulta," but it was decided *in decretis* that a simple oath of fidelity and obedience might be taken. The fervent Jacobites and non-jurors were indignant, but they hoped, as Dr. Ingleton, James's old tutor, expressed it in a letter to David Nairne, that the English Ministry would admit of no oath of submission without a clause against the Pope's authority. Bishop Gifford, Vicar Apostolic, was greatly perplexed, and was opposed to Bishop Stonor on the point. Abbé Strickland was sent to Rome by the Duke of Norfolk and some other of the chief Catholics of England, with a strong letter of recommendation from the Internuncio.[2]

Pub. Rec. Off., Roman Transcripts, Miscellanea, 167.

Brit. Mus. Gualterio "Papers," 20,310 (180).

James's own consent seems to have been sought by

any person who directly or indirectly shall be against His Majesty and the present Government. I further declare that I detest the abominable deceit that the Pope has authority to dispense the oaths and solemn promises made to Princes, or to absolve subjects from their obligation of fidelity. . . . I swear neither to seek nor to accept any dispensation of such an oath."—*Pub. Rec. Off. Miscellanea*, 167.

[1] See Appendix K.

[2] Abbé Strickland was afterwards made Bishop of Namur, much to the indignation of the Jacobite party.

1716-17. some of his party, for we find the Duke of Mar writing to the Queen :—

"Calendar Stuart Papers," Windsor, Vol. III. p. 3.

> ". . . It is wonderful how anybody can think the King can allow them to take oaths against himself . . . Pritchard [the Pope] is like to be too easy in that affair, which I must say is very odd, and not suitable to what he ought to be. The Catholics will find that any oath they may take will not satisfy the Government."

In addition to this painful business, the last few weeks of James's stay at Avignon were full of negotiations with various Courts, including that of Russia, as there were hopes that Peter the Great might join with Sweden to restore the King to his own; and schemes arrived daily from England for the raising of money, which seems to have been plentifully forthcoming, etc. Lord Oxford, who, though still in the Tower, must have enjoyed considerable liberty, was put into communication with Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, but so great was their incompatibility of temper that Menzies, the Jacobite agent in London, could only wish "they had never been brought together."

Stuart "Papers," Windsor, Feb. 1, 1717.

> "They were both men of singular capacity, but . . . without a great and *de facto* authority over them, it will be nothing but Babel. I dare venture to assure you by the sad experience I have had in the matter, which is enough to make an Angel a misanthrope."

James left Avignon on February 6, in a weak state of health, but his departure could no longer be delayed. The number of Jacobites had greatly diminished, having dwindled to 150 in November, some making their peace with the English Government; and when James started for Italy his suite numbered 70 persons. The Vice-Legate, after giving him a final entertainment, accompanied him as far as Gentilly, the Doni family escorting him to Orange, where the whole party supped and passed the night, parting the next day with great regret. The weather was bitterly cold with a heavy fall of snow, and the crossing of the Mont Cenis was a difficult matter. At Aiguebelle, the Duke of Savoy, now King of Sicily, had sent a general officer to compliment him, and he was hospitably entertained at the different stages of his journey. The Duke of Ormonde accompanied him, but

the Duke of Mar, who had for some time shown signs of restlessness, had asked leave to return to Paris to meet his wife. This retreat was interpreted by many as a first step towards making his peace with the English Court, and had been deprecated by Queen Mary of Modena in a charming letter:— 1716-17. Stuart "Papers," Windsor, Feb. 25.

> ". . . I hope you will never part with him (James), nor let yourself be discouraged or disgusted by foolish reports or impertinent people's talk. . . . I hope you will never quit him, not even for a day in all his travels if it be possible, for the King, I dare say, will never part with you, and if he were at home to-morrow, he would want you full as much, for a faithful friend is a rare thing as the world goes, and when one has found one, one ought to keep it as a treasure. . . ." *Ibid.* Feb. 3.

The plea availed not, and on the 28th February we find a note from the Queen to Mar saying she hopes to see him the following Tuesday. By that date James was at Asti, making slow progress, writes John Paterson, one of his secretaries, "and no wonder, for the roads are very deep." At Piacenza, the Duke of Parma waited upon him, and two days later, on March 9, James entered Modena, his mother's birthplace.

CHAPTER IX

1717. THROUGH Dr Erskine, a relative of the Duke of Mar, who was Peter the Great's physician, and greatly in his confidence, hopes were entertained that the Czar, whose personal dislike of George I. was intense, might be brought to make peace with Charles XII. and join with him in an expedition to England. The alarm at the English Court was great; a squadron of men-of-war was fitted out in January, under the command of Sir George Byng; several regiments were detached from Scotland, and all sea and land officers commanded to repair to their respective posts.

Stuart Papers, Windsor, Feb. 15.

James wrote to the Bishop of Rochester from Montmelian, while "travelling in frost and snow," that from what he hears the King of Sweden is so intent that he may possibly execute the design of a descent into England before James and the Duke of Ormonde could join him. He will not venture "the losing of a favourable opportunity" by waiting for them. James's own departure would make too much noise, but the Duke of Ormonde can move away more easily, and has resolved to make the best of his way to Sweden; and James will wait at Bologna until he finds that his departure will not expose the secret, or that the expedition has actually started. In the latter case he means to go straight to France, and when the Regent sees the enterprise "in a prosperous way, can we despair of obtaining anything from him?" The Bishop is warned that the expedition may arrive very soon, and must "not find you unprovided. . . . You know how necessary Mr Dryden [a Declaration] will be on this occasion. I desire you will, without loss of time, let me have your thoughts of him, and what you advise him to say."

Before this letter reached its destination, Count Gyllemborg, the Swedish Minister in England, was arrested, and

his papers seized.[1] George I., in his speech to Parliament on the 30th February, read by the Lord Chancellor, announced that the "obstinate and inveterate Rancour of a Faction amongst us" had again prompted them to animate and stir up Foreign Powers against him. The letters of the Swedish Ministers which would be laid before them contained "a certain account of the intended Invasion." A few days later the letters were published, and came nigh to demolishing the new-made amity and alliance between the Courts of France and England.

1717. Salmon's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 70.

The rise of Abbé Dubois, "the apothecary's son," as he was generally called, had been rapid.[2] From the low estate of impecunious ex-tutor of the Duke of Orleans, and spy of Lord Stair in the time of Louis XIV., he became, on the accession of the Duke to the Regency, his chief secret adviser, the prime artificer, with Lords Stair and Stanhope, of the Triple Alliance, and French envoy to Hanover in 1716, where, with Stanhope, he had signed the special convention that James should be turned out of Avignon. In a letter of Gyllemborg to Baron Goertz, written while Dubois was actually in Hanover, and published with the rest of the correspondence, occurred the following passage :—

> "All the world here is of opinion that either France is extremely feeble, or that the Regent aims at the throne, and designs to purchase it from King George at any price whatever ; otherwise it is looked upon as impossible that France could condescend, as she is doing, to so ignominious a sacrifice as that of those works [at Mardyke]. Bets are being laid that the young King of France will be despatched within a certain time to make room for his uncle. . . ."[3]

When it is remembered that in the popular mind the Duke of Orleans bore the—probably entirely unmerited—suspicion of having been the author of the terribly sudden death of the young Dauphin and Dauphiness, of their son the Duc de Bretagne, and of the Duc de Berry, his own

[1] Sweden was at war with George, as Elector of Hanover, but there was peace between Sweden and England, and the respective Ministers emained in London and Stockholm.

[2] He was the son of a doctor.

[3] L. Wiesener, *Le Régent, l'Abbé Dubois et les Anglais*, vol. ii. p. 11.

1717. son-in-law—suspicion confirmed by his studies and experiments in chemistry, and, it was whispered, alchemy and the black arts—it can be imagined how profound was the emotion caused in Paris by the careless and untoward publication of such a letter.

Abbé Dubois' feelings may also be imagined at seeing his long-elaborated achievement, which he knew was obnoxious to every member of the "old Court" of Versailles, threatened with destruction, and which would have carried his own downfall with it. His letter to Thomas Crawford, Secretary of the English Embassy, Lord Stair being absent, is written in a tone of despair. For the past ten years nothing had afflicted him so greatly; nothing but the extreme shame—*l'extrême honte*—the Regent would feel at avowing how great an affront he had received from the King of Great Britain, with whom he had just entered into so close an alliance, prevented him from giving full course to his resentment. Dubois' own sorrow and anxiety were indescribable. In a word, so great was the emotion at Court that, without the good offices exercised by certain persons, the treaty would have been torn into a thousand pieces. As to his own particular, the Abbé would have given all he possessed in the world and half his blood that the English Ministers had not published that accursed letter, which availed them nothing. Crawford hastened to make apologies, to which Dubois answered:—

> "It will appear to posterity, as to the whole world at present, that the King of England found it good to publish an atrocious calumny against the Duke of Orleans the day after making a treaty of alliance with him."

The exhausted condition of France, the pleadings of Dubois, and a certain flaccidity of temperament in the Duke of Orleans, combined to induce him to swallow the affront; a crisis which might have meant so much to James III. was averted, and fortune once again passed him by. The Regent even sent Count de la Marck to Charles XII.—who had arrested Jackson, the English Resident at Stockholm—as a mediator; but he was not received by the King

until after Count Gyllemborg's release, and that of Baron Goertz, who, at the request of the English Court, had been arrested in Holland and his papers seized. The scheme having failed, the King of Sweden disavowed the acts of his Ministers, and assured Count de la Marck and wrote to the Regent that he had not entered into any of the designs attributed to his Ministers, and would inquire into their conduct as soon as they were returned to him. The scheme was, moreover, represented as a mere plot contrived by the three Swedish Ministers to get money; but as the subsidies sent were paid into the royal exchequer, and the debt frequently acknowledged in later years by Charles XII.'s successors, the accusation of swindling brought against Goertz and his companions will not bear examination.[1] 1717.

Contrary to the advice of the Duke of Lorraine, James had sent Mr Walkinshaw of Barrowfield to Vienna at the end of 1716, and there is a curious letter from James to the Czar, under date of 9th January 1717, thanking him effusively for what he is going to do for him with regard to the Emperor of Austria, and expressing delight to hear of Peter's good dispositions towards the King of Sweden:— Stuart "Papers," Windsor.

> ". . . Not to importune you, I refer to all Mr Morphy [Dr. Erskine] will tell you in detail, but I implore you to consider that time is precious, and that the loss of it might cause your great and just designs to miscarry. I am sending you, according to your desire, a person of confidence to remain near you" [Sir Henry Stirling?].

Walkinshaw was kindly received at Vienna, especially by "the great man" Prince Eugene, but it was not many weeks before the Prince informed him that the Emperor's war with the Turks made it impossible for him to think of favouring James at this juncture, since so doing would embroil him with England, France, and Holland; that he wished him "all manner of good fortune," and that any Prince who received James into his states would be "in no *Ibid.*, March 1.

[1] A curious proof of the sympathy of the Swedes for the Jacobite cause is found in a letter from Jackson, the English Resident, at the time of the failure of the Jacobite rising in Scotland. He describes the people as "fir'd with rage and despair" at the news; "but thank God, the sense of their own impotency and the dismal aspect their affairs carry, make them pretty affable. . . ."—*Pub. Rec. Off., S. P. Foreign, Stockholm, No.* 22.

1717 manner of way disagreeable" to the Emperor. And then Prince Eugene intimated "that it would be agreeable" that the envoy should leave Vienna.

The attitude of Charles VI. was in reality less friendly than Walkinshaw supposed. It is to the suspiciousness of the Austrian Court that we, perhaps, owe the existence of the only two letters extant, of all the vast correspondence —destroyed after the Queen's death—between Mary of Modena and her son. She could not understand the long delay in the arrival of James's letters; they were, in fact, opened in transit (as were hers), copied, translated into German, and the copies remitted to Vienna before the originals were despatched to St Germains or to Bologna. These charming letters are given at length in the Life of the Queen,[1] and there is an important postscript to James's letter, dated Bologna, 14th March, showing that he had—so far as we know, for the first time in his life—fallen in love, and at first sight. He had described his kind reception at Modena by his great-uncle, Duke Rinaldo d'Este, and the charm and loveliness of his three daughters, the two elder of whom might rank as beauties. "The eldest of the three is very like you." Perhaps it was this likeness to his mother that first inclined the heart of the exile towards his young cousin, but before the end of his three days' stay at Modena he had, subject to his mother's approval, proposed to the Duke for the hand of his daughter. The proposal considerably embarrassed the cautious Duke, who was as anxious not to disoblige King George as he was to keep well with Austria. He gave a civil but vague answer that the Emperor must first be consulted, and allowed the negotiations to drag on for months.

Up to this moment James had been reluctant to marry in the unsettled state of his prospects and affairs, unwilling to link another existence with his own life of exile, uncertainties, and persecution. The Jacobites urged marriage vehemently, going so far as to say that if he had a son he would be worth 100,000 men to the cause; and even his

[1] *Life of Queen Mary of Modena*, pp. 495, 496.

enemies, as Saint Simon put it, desired he should marry, that they might always have a legitimate king to point to, so as to keep the king of their choice in order.[1] 1717.

At Turin, James had seen the Queen of Sicily (Duchess of Savoy), next in blood to himself in the line of succession. The interview must have been an interesting one, and the Queen wrote to Queen Mary of Modena that she was extremely pleased with her cousin; but James wrote to the Duke of Mar that he "could get no good" (he had hoped for money, and for permission to remain in Savoy) "out of the King of Sicily." "Stuart Papers," Windsor, Feb. 25, March 7.

Lord Oxford and Ogilvie, one of James's agents in England, were corresponding several times a day by letter, not daring to meet, at the time of Gyllemborg's arrest; and, strange to say, after the first shock of that discovery, the Jacobite hopes of Sweden's help rose as high, or higher than ever. The Duke of Mar wrote from Paris, where he was living *incognito*, to James, that the Queen, General Dillon, and he were of opinion that he should leave Italy privately for Liège, where he would be safe until the King of Sweden could get sufficient transports, which Baron Spaar thought would not be before the 20th April. Lord Oxford urged that James should lose no more time than was necessary for his journey; that he should land as near London as possible, and that Oxford, if he knew the date *Ibid.*, March 4. *Ibid.*, March and April.

[1] This view is curiously borne out in the MS., *Anecdotes Politiques sur le Hanovre*, by Blondel, afterwards French Plenipotentiary at the Court of Turin. He records a conversation he had with Lord Stanhope at Madrid in 1718: "As England persecuted the Pretender, and insisted that all the Courts of Europe should refuse to receive him, I thought to please my lord Stanhope by speaking conformably to the energetic measures his Government was taking against that Prince. My lord Stanhope confided to me that those appearances were false, that the Pretender was a *personnage précieux* . . . and that he wished him a numerous posterity. . . . If the King were to attempt anything against the constitution, or employed his forces to subjugate the nation . . . the whole nation would rise to send him back to Hanover, and to proclaim the Pretender. On the other hand, if France or Spain declared war against England, the Ministry could excite the people by representing that those powers were seeking to force a Papist King upon them. . . ." Lord Stanhope, moreover, declared that all the ministers, himself included, gave the Pretender £100 a year, and that King George gave him £1000. The last statement seems hardly credible, although James certainly received large subsidies from England. —*Bib. Nat.*, *N.A.F.*, 349-350.

1717. of his arrival, would send to meet him at Gravesend.[1] General Dillon wrote to the same effect, but the Queen, more clear-sighted, and with her long and sad experience of European politics, was less sanguine. She wished Spaar guessed aright of his master's motions:—

> " . . . but I dare hardly flatter myself to beleeve as he dos. However he must be allowed to judge better of the matter than anybody els, and, if he judges right, the D[uke] of Or[monde] and the Dec [James's declaration] will both, I fear, come too late, but when one cannot do as well as one should, one must do as well as one can. . . . "

Salmon, Vol. II. p. 71

The Queen was right; when Sir George Byng, with his hastily-equipped fleet of thirty men-of-war, arrived in the Sound, he found "no Fleet prepared by the Swedes, or any Army embarking, or any appearance of an Enemy; Advice whereof being brought into England, the People were eased of their Apprehension of an Invasion."

James was meanwhile waiting at Pesaro, unwilling to penetrate further into Italy while in suspense as to Charles XII.'s intentions. Pesaro seems to have been a miserable, fever-stricken town, the wine detestable, and the inhabitants, according to one of the English gentleman, writing to Avignon, barbarous and half-savage. After a sojourn of several melancholy weeks, James determined to go to Rome, the Duke of Ormonde having started for France two weeks previously with the intention of joining the King of Sweden; and also to see Peter the Great, who was coming to Paris.

1718. May, June.[2]

The Czar had an interview with Queen Mary of Modena; and, charmed and touched by her sweet majesty and her great sorrows, expressed much friendliness towards her and her son, and accepted a miniature of the latter "with pleasure and thanks." But he could not receive the Duke of Ormonde. The Regent had been informed of Ormonde's arrival, and for fear of complications with England, requested the Czar not to see him. Peter the Great

[1] Lord Oxford's letter, under the name of Levingstone, is dated from Epsom; other letters from Greenwich. If these were not cant names for the Tower of London, Oxford must have been let out on *parole*, as his trial and acquittal did not take place till the following June.

[2] Dates in the margin refer to the Stuart MSS. at Windsor Castle.

sent word of this immediately to the Duke, at the same time appointing a meeting at Spa on the 21st June. 1717.

James's matrimonial affairs also hung in the balance. Pope Clement XI., in a long conversation immediately upon James's arrival *incognito* in Rome—where he and his small suite were the guests of Cardinal Gualterio—urged him to marry, and upon hearing of his inclination for his cousin of Modena, which James did not conceal, though he kept the fact of his proposal secret, approved so highly as to pledge himself to remove all difficulties which might arise, and "to manage the business with the Emperor."

The news of this interview threw the Duke of Modena into "great agitation." He wrote urging secrecy and the difficulties in which he found himself, the necessity for "great circumspection and more time," and after one or two more letters in the same strain, sent "a dry and positive refusal," thus putting an end to the one romance of James III.'s youth. In the meantime, Lord Oxford and other important Jacobites were urging a marriage with the Princess of Hesse-Cassel, whose brother had married Princess Ulrica of Sweden, Charles XII.'s sister. The Queen, who alone was aware of her son's desire to marry his cousin, and knew how strict was the secrecy to be observed until Duke Rinaldo had given his answer, caused considerable vexation to the Duke of Mar by not entering at once into the Hesse-Cassel project, and by refusing certain assurances to the King of Sweden on the matter. The Duke, impatient and dictatorial, little better endowed with the qualities of a statesman than with those of a commander-in-chief, had more than once come into collision with the Queen's better judgment and greater experience. His "openly-expressed jealousies and suspicions" at last called forth a remonstrance from James in defence of the Queen. Mar's jealousies and suspicions of her would have given him more trouble, "had I not flattered myself that time and your own experience would have disabused you." He repels the accusation that he allowed himself to be governed by the Queen on the point of religion, his sentiments on that head being well known to the Duke:—

"Stuart Papers," Windsor, July 1.

1717. "But if, after all this, nothing will cure past prejudices, are not Andrew and Peter [the Queen and himself] the most unhappy people in the world? and the more so that I see neither end nor remedy for the evil, since it may be said as long as I live . . . that those imaginary principles, supposed to be instilled into Peter by Andrew, are the rule of Peter's actions."

James reminds the Duke of the Queen's desire "to meddle no more in business"; but how could that be effected? As long as she is so much nearer the *point de vue*, that many in England do not share "that strange view" of her, that France will always respect her, and that her weight and authority will ever be of service "in present circumstances." His respect and duty towards his mother are just and at the same time reasonable. Her first view, as well as his own, is for his interest and service, "and to see them both equally suffer is what that very duty will never allow." He ends by urging Mar to return to him: "as long as we are all asunder, we shall never understand one another, and business can never go on clearly. . . . I leave this on Monday for Urbino."

Pope Clement XI., besides sage advice on the marriage question and on the duty of a Catholic king towards Protestant subjects—"I am sure it would have pleased you," wrote James to Mar—had offered the Stuart king the town and magnificent palace of Urbino as a residence for himself and his followers, with a pension of 10,000 Roman *scudi* a year. He also gave him a very welcome sum of money for the poor Jacobites of St Germains, and at his request removed Monsignor Salviati, the Vice-Legate of Avignon, to Urbino as resident Prelate, much to Salviati's satisfaction.

"Stuart Papers," Windsor, July 13.

Meanwhile the Duke of Ormonde had had an interview with Peter the Great, who professed great inclination to serve James, and offered Ormonde every facility for his journey to Sweden; but the Czar's demands were very high, wrote Ormonde, with regard to keeping the territory he had won from Sweden, and Charles XII. may not be willing to hearken to reason. On the other hand, King George's late behaviour, in tampering with the Czar and

King separately, "in order to draw a good bargain from either to the exclusion of the other," raised the Jacobite hopes that "such deceitful proceedings" might not be forgot, and the long-desired union between Peter and Charles XII. might come to pass.

1717. "Stuart Papers," Windsor, July 20.

In the month of August a strange and startling report, emanating from Lord Oxford himself, reached the Queen at St Germains by a special messenger from England, to the effect that Charles Mordaunt, the impecunious and most eccentric third Earl of Peterborough, had undertaken to have the Pretender assassinated.[1] At first the Queen, General Dillon, and Mar were very unwilling to believe so grave an accusation, or that "a man of that quality could undertake so vile a thing," but reiterated messages from London, and Lord Peterborough's sudden appearance in Paris, determined the Queen to send a special express to Urbino; and Dillon writes to James that although he supposes he will think them easily alarmed, "yet the advertisement ought not to be despised or neglected." He adds:—

Ibid., August 12, 13, 15.

> "'tis certain Prescot [Peterborough] had several private conferences with Bernard [George I.] and supped with him twice in a week's time before his departure. This new and unexpected favour, with many other circumstances, gave a rise to suspect Prescot, whose character I am told is very equivocal. . . ."

The next thing we find is that Peterborough has been arrested at Bologna by Cardinal Origo, governor of the town, at the request of James III. "To doubt any longer would have looked like infatuation," writes John Paterson, one of the Secretaries at Urbino, to John Carney at Rome, and the latter, in his answer, says that he starts for Florence next day to look out for Colonel Douglas. "I am not at all surprised he undertakes so horrid a thing, considering his former behaviour in France.[2]

[1] ". . . The first authors of the message . . . 250 [Lord Oxford] and his party. . . . The news came from several other hands the following post."—*Fanny Oglethorpe to Duke of Mar*, Dec. 31.

[2] At Nonancourt in November 1715. In a letter from Pietro Belloni to Nairne, from Bologna, he expresses a hope of catching "il Conte" Douglas if he leaves Venetian territory for the Ecclesiastical States.—*Stuart Papers*, Windsor, 29th Sept. 1717.

1717. The appearance of Colonel or "Count" Douglas, as he called himself, upon the scene—and it seems clear that he was in Italy at that moment—gives colour to an incident, which we should otherwise be tempted to regard as the creation of the excited imagination of the English Jacobites.

Lord Peterborough was treated with every consideration, but held in fast custody in Fort Urbano at Bologna until his papers—in which nothing suspicious was found—had been sent for inspection to Urbino. He protested his entire innocence of so ridiculous and odious an accusation, and at his request Colonel Sheldon was sent by James to Bologna. Sheldon was also charged to return all Peterborough's papers to him in a sealed packet. We have his report of the interview. Lord Peterborough is anxious to get out of durance (he was imprisoned a month), and offers the Regent of France, the Duke of Parma, and the Duc d'Aumont as witnesses of his innocence. He will submit himself entirely to what Cardinal Gualterio will say of him:—

Brit. Mus., "Gualterio Papers," Add. MS. 20, 312 (55).

> "He went on his knees and swore terrible oaths, with his hands clasped, praying the Almighty to exterminate him, his family and his country, if he would not stab any man who had the hardihood to propose to him to assassinate the King. . . ."

James had made the mistake of acting as if he had been Duke of Urbino, and of addressing himself directly to Cardinal Origo without any previous intimation to the Pope, merely writing to him two days after his messengers, Sir J. O'Brian and Mr Cockburn, had been sent to Bologna, that trusting to the justice and goodness of the Pope he had not feared to act boldly on this occasion, fully assured that his Holiness would approve of any measures he might think necessary for his own safety. He also asks the Pope to give Cardinal Origo some mark of approval for the promptitude with which he had acted.

Pub. Rec. Off., "Roman Transcript Miscel.," 166.

Clement XI. was a timid man, and when the English Government began to storm at this affront to a peer of the realm, and threatened to demand reparation and satisfaction

by force of arms from the Court of Rome, he was both alarmed and angry. He sent word to James III. that he was most anxious Lord Peterborough should get out of Italy as quickly as possible, otherwise the present Government of England would take measures which might affect His Majesty's stay at Urbino. At the Pope's request, James wrote to the Queen, asking her to use all her credit with the Regent to obtain his good offices with the Court of England; the Regent will, he is sure, he charmed to please the Pope, *à si peu de frais.* 1717-8. Brit. Mus., "Gualterio Papers," Add. MS. 20, 312 (114).

> "I may add a personal motive which, I am sure, would alone suffice, and which is my own peaceful sojourn in this country. To make it easier for the Regent to serve the Pope, it is as well he should know that Lord Peterborough was arrested on my own order, without the Pope's knowledge, and that he was set at liberty at the earnest request of his Holiness." Pub. Rec. Off., "Roman Transcript Miscel.," 166.

Mary of Modena's intervention was successful; and she was able to write to Cardinal Gualterio, 2nd January 1718, that the Regent's answer to her solicitations was all she could wish, and that she trusts his good offices will dissipate the threatened tempest; "the Duke of Hanover will probably be as much pleased to oblige the Regent, as the Regent was to give pleasure to the Pope."

This was one of the last important services the Queen was to render her son; for the sands of her beautiful life were running out, and only a few months separated her from the end of her labours.

The next express messenger the Queen sent to Urbino, after the one carrying the warning about Lord Peterborough, was charged with tidings as startling, though of a different nature. Peter the Great, who appeared much warmer in the interests of James than did Charles XII.—perhaps owing to the intensity of his hatred for George I., which Saint-Simon describes as almost indecent—wrote from Riga through Dr Erskine to the Duke of Ormonde at Mittau, that he ought to get a positive answer from Sweden.—If the King will not undertake, the expedition out of hand, it should be proposed to Marechal d'Uxelles and his party to oblige the Regent to make a descent upon Oct. 10.

1717-8. England. The Czar offers his daughter in marriage to James III., and wishes that the affair of the descent may be concluded this winter.

After writing to beg the Duke of Ormonde to send some trusty persons to see and report upon the Czar's daughter, who is only thirteen years old, on her temper and constitution, and if she is healthy and good-humoured, the Queen sent this important missive to her son.

James, whose disappointment with regard to the young Princess of Modena seemed to have rendered him more indifferent to marriage than ever, sent answer through the Duke of Mar, who, with his wife, had lately come to Urbino, that it was but reasonable he should be informed of the person of the Czar's daughter before engaging himself.[1] Much would depend upon the peace negotiations between Sweden and Muscovy, which may be spun out to a great length, and it would be advisable that he should be allowed to go to some part of the Czar's dominions. The peace proposals were in truth spun out, and the disquieting intelligence came from the Duke of Ormonde that the Czar's eldest daughter was born before the marriage of her parents, "but, according to the custom of the country, she and the other children born before the marriage have been made legitimate." Ormonde also imparts the fact that the repudiated Czarina, Peter's first wife, is still living. James is also advised not to come to Muscovy, unless he is resolved on the marriage, "for a refusal, after seeing the person, would be very disagreeable to the Czar."

Dec. 24.

1718. March 3.

March 3. The English Court watched these proceedings anxiously, and complained to the Czar of the presence at Mittau of the "late" Duke of Ormonde, saying they would look upon his continuance there as an open breach, and act accordingly. "The Czar hath no further regard to this," wrote Sir Henry Stirling from St Petersburgh to the Duke, "than that he would willingly carry it fair and give as little

[1] In answer to a letter of the Bishop of Rochester urging him to marry, James gives it as a proof of his devotion to England that he should be ready "for her account, and hers only," to get the better of his disinclination to marry.—*Stuart Papers*, Dec. 15.

umbrage as possible till matters were more fully prepared." 1718.
At the same time Peter the Great showed more than ordinary easiness, and urged that Ormonde should go to Sweden; he also desired that nothing more might be said about the Princess, his daughter, till he saw what appearance there was of a treaty, "of which there is no certainty." Charles XII. wrote a letter of compliment to April 3.
James, and intimated, through the Duke of Ormonde, his desire that he would use his endeavours to bring the Czar to reasonable terms; for, if that cannot be compassed, he can undertake nothing in his favour, and "must be obliged to agree with the Duke of Hanover." James authorised Ormonde to offer £200,000 to the Czar, to be paid three months after his restoration, as an equivalent for the port of Revel which he had taken from Sweden; but Peter the Great had set his heart upon keeping the place, as he had spent large sums on the fortifications and improved the harbour, "which will now receive the biggest ships of his fleet, and is the best on this side the Baltic." In the following May, Goertz and Gyllemborg for Charles XII., and General Reuss and Osterman for the Czar, met in secret conference on the Island of Aland; and their negotiations continued until broken off by the death of Charles XII.

Not only was the diplomacy of the English Court and its elaborate and minute spying system ceaselessly engaged against James in every Court of Europe, but English gold was pressed into every hand which might have been held out to him in friendship or helpfulness; and to this, above all, may be attributed the endless delays, the inopportune frustrations, and apparently inexplicable hindrances which perpetually thwarted every plan and every hope of the Jacobites, in their dealings with the great Powers.[1] To wean Austria from any tendency to look kindly upon the Catholic legitimate King of England, George I. determined to give the Emperor a large sum of money. In July 1717

[1] Lord Carteret wrote privately from Stockholm the following year, that notwithstanding the unwillingness of the Swedish Ministers to sign the terms of the Treaty with England, "I believe for £5000 or £6000 sterling we shall settle it almost our own way."—*Pub. Rec. Off., S.P. Foreign, Stockholm*, Vol. 24.

1718. Pub. Rec. Off., Germany, July 1717.

a secret article to the Treaty of the previous year was drawn up, by which Charles VI. engaged himself to refuse asylum or passage in all his dominions to the Pretender or any of his adherents; King George, in return, acknowledged that the English Treasury was indebted to the Emperor for the sum of £130,000 as subsidies for the former wars in Spain and Catalonia. The secret was never to be revealed, unless necessity obliged the King to inform Parliament of the employment of the sum as a precaution against the Pretender (the necessity never seems to have arisen). The Emperor blushed to name the Prince against whom he was to close the Austrian States, and proposed a general formula; but George I., alleging that it might lead to misunderstanding, held out against a scruple which he said had no other motive than that of being agreeable to two or three German Catholic bishops. The consideration of "so large a sum," as the tempter put it, the emptiness of the Imperial exchequer, and the fear of letting slip an opportunity of replenishing it, purchased Charles VI.'s consent to sign the article in the terms required, and the money was punctually paid, with the greatest mystery, into the hands of the Austrian envoys, 11th January 1718.[1] George I. thus gained the support of the Emperor against James III., and, as a natural consequence, the adhesion of Austria to the Triple Alliance, thenceforward to be known as the Quadruple Alliance.

Ibid.

In England Jacobite affairs were in the hands of Lord Oxford and the Bishop of Rochester, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lords Lansdowne, Orrery, and Portmore, and Sir William Wyndham. Unfortunately, although we find Lord Oxford writing to James that he does his utmost to keep well with the Bishop, their inability to work together only seemed to increase as time went on; while the almost sudden death of the Duke of Shrewsbury, early in February, was a severe blow to the cause. As for Lord Wharton, who, upon his guardians stopping his supplies, had returned

[1] This interesting transaction seems to have been overlooked by Lord Mahon and subsequent historians until M. Wiesener traced it in the Public Record Office, and published it in his *Le Régent, l'Abbé Dubois et les Anglais.*

to England declaring he would "set Bucks in a blaze," and writing "I smile on the faces of the Whigs in order to cut their throats," and that he was ready to be one of twenty to proclaim James at Cheapside, fell ill with small-pox some months later; and seems to have risen up a Whig, as we find him created Duke of Wharton by George I. in January 1718. This called forth the remark from the Duke of Mar that he supposed Lord Wharton had forgotten that he held a certain letter in his hands, which was to rise up against its writer if ever he departed from his Jacobite sentiments.[1]

1718.
Dec. 1716.

The dissensions between George I. and his son raged furiously at this time, the Prince of Wales being turned out of St James's Palace, and all Peers and Peeresses, Privy Councillors and their wives forbidden to go to his Court under pain of not being received at that of the King. The Jacobites were tempted to rejoice at the disgraceful domestic broils, which deepened the dislike of the people to the Hanoverian family.[2] False rumours at the same time were industriously spread by the Whigs all over Europe that the Pretender was dangerously ill, at the very time that he was at Fano enjoying the Carnival and the Opera there.

The natural beauties, the unique artistic and historical interest, and the architectural splendour of the town and marvellous Palace of Urbino seem to have failed to charm the small Jacobite Court, which suddenly found itself transplanted to its almost inaccessible solitudes. Those who, like Lord Panmure, or any whose friends would help them to live, could get away, did so with the congratulations of those who remained behind; and the Duke of Mar probably described the feelings of all his companions in the following letter to Sir John Erskine :—

[1] See page 229.

[2] In March, James Shepherd, a coach-painter's apprentice of eighteen, was hanged at Tyburn for conspiring George I.'s death. "He looked upon it as a meritorious act to take off King George," but declared in his last speech and confession that his letter to his legitimate sovereign asking his authorisation to execute his purpose had not been approved, and he had since learned that King James III. had always opposed any such attempts.—*Brit. Mus. Gualterio Papers*, Add. MS. 20, 312 (214).

1718. Jan. 4.

". . . Our distance here is cruel, and the place we are in is a damned one. We have more snow just now than is, I am sure, in Lochaber or Badenoch, and nothing but hills, not so much as the least valley near us, so that our promenade before the snow, was on roads cut out on the sides of one hill to the top of another, where there is nothing to be seen but hills on three sides, and hills too on the fourth quite to the sea. We have a fine house indeed, where you would be surprised to see so much music, and so little drink that can make one merry; the old stock is out and the new not come. . . . I have music in my rooms thrice a week, a voice tolerable good, an excellent violin, one that plays well on the harpsichord, and sometimes Painter plays on the bass-fiddle and Mitchell's Jack on the flute. . . . In the meantime for want of wine, etc., I should die of the spleen were it not for building castles in the air of several kinds, for which I have more time than formerly, the post being but once a week. . . ."

In another letter the following month :—

". . . We are going on in our old dull way, one day being as like another as two eggs, and these eaten without pepper or salt. . . . The King . . . thinks of going to Fano on Monday for love of the Opera, and I heartily wish that the cold weather may not give him a distaste of the music which he comes every day to like better. . . ."[1]

It is pleasant to find among the Stuart Papers about this date the account for a billiard-table sent from Rome to Urbino, and receipts for the renewal of the exhausted stocks of champagne and whiskey.

James shared in the dulness of his followers, though he admitted that the palace of Urbino surpassed anything he had ever seen in his life, and gratefully acknowledged all the kindness shown to him by the Pope. He writes to the Queen and the Duke of Lorraine that he is tired out of his life, and that beautiful as is Urbino in the springtime, his greatest desire is to leave it.

The tension of long-deferred hope, the pain of exile, and the weariness of enforced inactivity had their natural consequences of discord and ill-humour, of quarrels and suspicions among the members of the little Court, so sharply divided in creed and nationality, English, Irish, and Scotch, and of exasperation and anger in James himself. The Duke of Mar, meddlesome, jealous, evil-disposed as we have seen to James's best friend, his mother

[1] James was magnificently entertained and treated with royal honours at Fano.

the Queen, was not a safe counsellor. He had failed when at Paris to breed discord between them, but during the long winter months at Urbino he was more powerful and unfortunately more successful. Inspired by him, James not only vehemently defended him against the suspicions of the Bishop of Rochester,[1] but somewhat acrimoniously attacked some of his own people. "With shame and regret," he feels obliged to inform him that there were "too many at Avignon imbued with very bad principles," and Mar's character had been blackened in the last degree. People mean well, "yet I have all along smarted for their private views and jealousies, which were but too constantly preferred to my service."

1718.

Jan. 7.

In sending the above-mentioned letter to General Dillon to be forwarded, with certain others, by the first occasion, James desires they may be shown to the Queen, "but for the first time I must say I neither ask his [her] nor your advice about them, for go they must.—

> ". . . Thank God Urbino is pretty well purged now, may it long continue so, and may I have firmness enough never to spare such as it is my duty at least to browbeat and discountenance . . . but enough on a subject which puts me out of all patience. . . ."

More vehement still, and absolutely contrary to his usual style, is a long letter to Father Gaillard, the Queen's confessor, ordering the immediate dismissal from all share in his affairs of Abbé Lewis Inese, Principal of the Scotch College and the Queen's Almoner, one of her oldest and most absolutely faithful servants.[2] The dismissal was abrupt, without inquiry, and, as it afterwards transpired, on the mistaken supposition that Inese had wilfully mistranslated a word which altered the sense of a letter to Leslie respecting James's promises to the Protestants.[3]

[1] Suspicion of the Duke of Mar was tolerably prevalent. Leslie informs James that the Duke of Argyle and his brother, Lord Ilay, with whom intercourse had been opened, would enter into nothing so long as "Mr Knox [James] employed Mr Montagu [Mar] as his chief factor."—*Stuart Papers*, Windsor, June 21.

[2] See Appendix L.

[3] According to a letter to Cardinal Gualterio, James complained that the mistranslated word represented him as claiming "the power of the keys" in the Church of England.

1718. The order was received with unquestioning submission, General Dillon at the same time writing to James that he
March 28. had always found Abbé Inese most upright in all his dealings, "extremely zealous and of a clear, digested good judgment." Inese himself, answering a passage in a letter from Mar saying that Inese "best knew" the reason of his disgrace, sincerely protested "that I neither do know, nor can guess, what I have done to offend the King, unless it be that I have writt my thoughts to His Majesty with more freedom than was perhaps agreeable."

James sent Colonel Sheldon from Urbino to Paris with his orders upon the subject, which were that the Queen and General Dillon should divide Inese's work between them, and that Lord Middleton and Mr Dicconson should have
April 18. nothing more to do with his affairs. Dillon replied that he would do his best, but could charge himself with no more business owing to the state of his health and sight, impaired by constant application; "and truly that is visible," reports Sheldon, who also finds that Inese does not appear to have prejudiced Dillon against the Duke of Mar, but Dillon owned "their informations from Evans [England] did not alwais agree" about his Grace. The Queen, who at first said she could not undertake what her son required of her without some assistance; upon Sheldon representing that her retirement would be misconstrued by the world, told him next day that she would do her best.

Within three weeks from the day upon which Queen Mary of Modena had consented to take upon herself a heavy addition of work in her son's service, she lay at rest from all her labours; her death, as Dangeau and Saint Simon described it, as saintly as had been her life.[1] The first, and last, slight jar in the complete accord which had ever reigned between her and her son is thus alluded to by Father Gaillard two days after her death:—

[1] Lord Stair, whose information from St Germains was seldom incorrect, represents James, in the letter quoted in the Life of the Queen (p. 503), as having ordered her and Dillon to meddle no more in his affairs. The Stuart papers show, however, that this was not the case.

"... You do not ignore the pain she felt at the last orders she received from your Majesty, but intimately persuaded of your affection, she ordered me to tell you that whatever came from you, though it might be contrary to her ideas and her wishes, made no contrary impression upon her love for you, and that she was in no way displeased. ..." 1718. May 9.

The news of the Queen's death reached James at Urbino on the 18th May. He was indisposed at the time, and the sudden shock, for the packet from Paris was opened by himself, threw him into a long and tedious illness. Fortunately Cardinal Gualterio was at Urbino, and was able to minister the consolation of his unfeigned and long-tried sympathy, of his devotion and veneration for the memory of the holy Queen. Inese's innocence had been proved by her in her last letters to her son, who at once reinstated him in his well-deserved place in his favour, which was never again to be disturbed.

However sincere and deep was James's grief at the loss of "the best of mothers," he had not much time to spend in mourning, before turning his thoughts to other things. The Queen had not lived to see him restored to the throne of his ancestors, nor had she seen the other great wish of her life fulfilled, his happy marriage to ensure the continuance of his race. But her buoyant, high-minded courage, her indomitable habit of looking at the bright side of things, led her to say, not long before her death, that her son's prospects had never looked so favourable; and she knew and rejoiced that the negotiations to find a fitting bride had ended in the choice of the Princess Clementina, daughter of Prince James Sobiesky, granddaughter of the famous John Sobiesky, King of Poland, and reputed one of the greatest heiresses in Europe. Clementina's claim, which had been mooted two years previously, had been in abeyance so long as a niece of Austria or France, a daughter of Muscovy, or a sister-in-law of Sweden could be hoped for; but after Captain Charles Wogan, sent on a tour of inspection of various princesses of Europe, had pronounced the Princess of Baden a dwarf, the Princess of Fürstenberg afflicted "with some redness about her nose," and the Princess of Saxony

1718. too old, he had arrived at Ohlau, the court of Prince John Sobiesky, on the 6th March, after a dreadful journey from Prague.—"I have been overturned in sledges, swomm in chaizes, and slidd down precipices." He sends a very favourable description of Princess Clementina, "the darling of the family . . . in point of sense, discretion, and evenness of temper, and a very becoming modesty. She is about fifteen [she was sixteen] years of age, low of stature, with light brown hair, very pretty black eyes, and genteel little features with a good shape . . . very devout and no manner of airs or variety of humour." She has "a good mixture of haughtiness in her composition, but cunning enough to disguise it upon occasion." She is healthy, but somewhat thin. Prince James is so anxious for the match, and so apprehensive of that with the Czar's daughter, that he promises to make Clementina's portion larger than that of her sister's. As Wogan was a Catholic, and it was deemed expedient that the final negotiations and formal demand for the Princess's hand should be made by a Protestant, James Murray,[1] one of James's most faithful adherents, was sent to Ohlau at the end of June, with full credentials and letters to Prince James Sobiesky and his wife, and to the young Princess; who in a demure little letter answers that, after the expressions of kindness in
August 27. the King's letter, and the consent of her parents,—"I may *sans sortir de la modestie* declare to you, Sire, that paternal authority had not much trouble to make itself obeyed, or to make my fate depend upon that of your Majesty."

In writing to tell the Duke of Ormonde, who had returned to the neighbourhood of Paris from his unsuccessful mission to Mittau, that he has sent Murray to negotiate his marriage, James, after thanking the Duke for his faithful service, "where your courage and patience have, I am sure, been sufficiently exercised," declares that his hopes from the North are far from vanished, as they are much

[1] Son of Viscount Stormont. He had been one of the most active of the Jacobite agents before and during the rising in Scotland, and after escaping from Newgate had joined James at Avignon. He was taken ill on his way to Ohlau, and Col. John Hay replaced him.

increased in relation to Spain, and "nothing is omitted by me to improve them." 1718-9.

A new scene had, in fact, opened with regard to Spain. Louis XIV., dazzled by the magnificence of his own importance and authority, and at the same time dismayed at the threatened extinction of his line, reduced to the frail little life of his great-grandson, had, a few months before his death, conceived the bold and subversive scheme, which the Parliament of Paris obediently subscribed, of placing his two natural sons by Madame de Montespan—the Duc de Maine and the Comte de Toulouse—into the order of succession before any of the collateral heirs. Needless to say, the Act was annulled soon after his death, with the result of throwing the Duc de Maine, or rather his imperious Duchess, who was the grand-daughter of the great Condé, into violent opposition to the Duke of Orleans. The Duchess entreated Philip V. to come to France and seize upon the Regency, while claiming the succession to the throne which he had renounced by the treaty of Utrecht; and she was soon deeply engaged in what is known as the Cellamare conspiracy. The Comte de Laval and the Marquis de Pompadour were the Duchess's chief agents; and the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, Prince Cellamare, entered into it under the direction of Cardinal Alberoni, chief minister of Spain, who wrote in August that, as nothing could be effected without Spanish troops, then employed in Sicily against the Austrians, it was necessary to temporise until the following year, "under cover of the finest dissimulation." But the conspirators so little understood their trade that they sent four important documents, intended to justify Philip V.'s intervention in France, to be copied by the chief scribe of the King's library. Terrified at their contents, the man took them to Abbé Dubois, who, after perusing them, told him to copy them according to the instructions he had received. In due course the documents were despatched under the care of two young gentlemen, who were overtaken at Poitiers, relieved of the papers, and allowed to pursue their journey to the Pyrenees. On the 8th December the precious booty was

1718-9. in the hands of Dubois. Prince Cellamare was arrested, as Gyllemborg had been in London the previous year, and conducted with much courtesy to the frontier. Ignorant of this event, Alberoni had meanwhile written the celebrated note to the Ambassador: "Do not come away from Paris until you are constrained by force, and do not leave without setting fire to all the mines." "Mines without powder," Cellamare is reported to have exclaimed, when the note eventually came to his knowledge.[1]

Among the mines which failed to explode was the project of sending James and the Duke of Ormonde to England, and of supporting a rising in Brittany, thus occupying the Regent and George I. at home, and leaving Alberoni and his ambitious sovereign, Elizabeth Farnese, second wife of the King of Spain, free to pursue their plans against Austria in Italy.[2]

Giulio Alberoni, the gardener's boy of Piacenza, who had risen to the rank of Cardinal and first minister of Spain by the force of his own talents; and who, under the grotesque exterior and the burlesque humours of a Sancho Panza, possessed one of the most restlessly active and ambitious minds in Europe, had not failed to be tempted by the vision of restoring the Stuarts, and of opposing triple alliance against triple alliance. After the death of Charles XII. at the siege of Friedericshall (11th December 1718), the Regent and Abbé Dubois assured Lord Stair that there had been an understanding between the Kings of Spain and Sweden; that the latter was to have seized Trondhjem in Norway, and passed from there into Scotland, declaring himself for the Pretender and assuming the title of Protector of the Protestant religion. Spain would have furnished the money required for the expedition, at the same time sending a fleet with the Duke of Ormonde to Ireland.

Pub. Rec. Off., Stair of Craggs, France, Jan. 21 and 22.

[1] The Duchesse de Maine was imprisoned at Dijon, the Duke at Doullens, near Arras; Cardinal de Polignac was relegated to his abbey in Flanders, and the rest of the conspirators were banished or shut up in the Bastille and the Conciergerie. Some forty gentlemen of Brittany were also tried and four executed for a conspiracy in favour of Philip V.

[2] L. Wiesener, *Le Régent, l'Abbé Dubois, et les Anglais.*

Although James's marriage negotiations were supposed to be absolutely secret, they were announced in the *Amsterdam Gazette*, and at the same time the news arrived at Urbino that the Elector of Hanover "had solicited" the Emperor to prevent the marriage. Charles VI., as we are aware, and as the Imperial Ambassador in Rome admitted to Cardinal Gualterio, "was not in a position to refuse anything to the Elector of Hanover." Unwillingly enough, the odious injunction was obeyed of first desiring Prince James Sobiesky not to give his daughter to James III., and then ordering her arrest. The two Empresses, Charles VI.'s mother and his wife—the former was Princess Clementina's aunt—did their best to render the order inoperative by sending a special messenger to Ohlau, bidding Princess James and her daughter depart without a moment's delay, while the Emperor's orders to the Governor of Innspruck went leisurely by post; but the travelling preparations absorbed so much time that the two Princesses arrived at Innspruck twelve hours after the order for their arrest had reached the Governor's hands. 1718-9.

James, with the Dukes of Perth[1] and Mar, and James Murray, left Urbino for Bologna on the 6th October, intending to have the marriage celebrated at Ferrara. As soon as the arrest of his bride reached his ears, he wrote to the Pope, and ordered David Nairne to go from Urbino to Rome with the letter and to speak to the Pope's two nephews, Cardinal and Count Carlo Albani :—

> ". . . The enormity of the fact speaks for itself, and they can apply remedies better than we can prescribe them. . . . In fine, your business is to make all the clamour and noise you can, and to move Heaven and earth for remedy in this affair, and in speaking of it to call everything by its own name." Oct. 18.

At Nairne's interview with Clement XI., the Pope, taking him by the hand when he was about to speak, bade him first listen to the draft of a letter he was sending to Cardinal Origo, "by which you will see what my instruc-

[1] James, Lord Drummond, second Duke of Perth, had succeeded his father in 1716.

1718-9. tions were, from the first time I heard of the Princess's arrest. . . . What the Emperor has done is unjustifiable; it speaks for itself, and needs no arguments to prove its injustice."

The Pope inquired if the marriage had taken place. "Some say the Princess [who was Clement XI.'s god-daughter] is married, some say not; in the first case the thing is more crying." The strange thing was, that not only Nairne could not tell him, but James himself did not know whether Colonel Hay had made use of the procuration he carried with him or not. Prince James Sobiesky had ordered his wife not to leave his daughter until after the ceremony, and Hay had written that it might be necessary for him to marry the Princess by proxy. No letter from him having yet arrived, nor indeed from the Princesses, which argued that their confinement was strict, James could only reply to the Pope's inquiry:—

Nov. 2. "My being marryed or not makes 'tis true a difference in nicety of conscience, but scarce any in point of honour and justice. If I am marryed, 'tis more than I know, 'tis true I hope I am not, but I wish it were believed I were."

And in writing to Mr Dicconson that he had done quite right in stopping all under-servants coming to Urbino, he adds: "but for hindering wives from going to their husbands, that is an Imperial prerogative I do not pretend to."

The Pope wrote a strong letter in his own hand to the Emperor, who felt the awkwardness of the situation and wrote pressingly to London as to the impossibility of longer keeping husband and wife apart; which brought the abrupt answer from Lord Stanhope to St Saphorin, the English Minister at Vienna, that the marriage could not possibly be allowed. If the Emperor did yield to the arguments of the ecclesiastics against keeping a wife away from her husband—

Copy. "His Imperial Majesty would thereby prove, that a conscience guided by Catholic clergy is not amenable to the ties of friendship and alliance. . . . Moreover the marriage has not gone as far as Prince James Sobiesky pretends. . . . We have certain intelligence, especially through the in-

tercepted letters of the Pretender's own household, that the marriage was only to have been celebrated at Bologna." 1718-9.

So the Princess remained in captivity, and James, who by this time had learned from Colonel Hay that there had been no marriage, returned to Rome, after establishing a correspondence by way of Altorf in Switzerland with his affianced wife. He also sent Captain Wogan to Ohlau to consult with Prince James Sobiesky as to what measures could be taken in the difficult situation of affairs. Wogan saw the Princesses at Innspruck, "carrying things with a high hand" in order to get access to them. Princess James is "so extream ill" that he fears she will leave her bones at Innspruck if her confinement is prolonged, but Princess Clementina is surprising; "'tis impossible to find more constancy." Wogan thinks she has grown, and is handsomer than when he last saw her; she is certainly the sweetest creature living, and will stand anything. Prince Sobiesky, when Wogan gets to Ohlau, is less determined. He is, in fact, torn in two between desire to keep his pledged word to James, and fear of the Emperor's threats; while the Dowager Empress preaches patience, and offers are made from George I. that, if he will break his contract with the Pretender, and give Clementina to the Prince of Baden, George and the Emperor will largely increase the Princess's dowry. Sometimes Sobiesky is for trying an escape, at others his cry is that we are no longer in the time of romances, and he sheds tears as he complains of being blamed by all mankind without his fault. The Emperor is acting solely under English pressure, and so angry was he when he learned that the arrest had actually been made, that he tore the letter with his teeth. Dec. 1718.

Wogan knows that he is being followed by a spy, but is consoled by the certainty that the Emperor would be glad to have the troublesome affair any way off his hands. After much discourse with the Prince, Wogan at last left Ohlau with full permission to try and effect the delivery of the Princess, and with orders to her and her mother to obey him in everything; so he begs the Duke of Mar to get

1718-9. passports, in any name he pleases, while he, on his side, takes all necessary steps. "My powers are as full as good-will and distress can make em. I wish I had Lady Nithsdale—who is good at those things." On one point Prince Sobiesky was determined—that there should be a marriage by proxy immediately upon his daughter's escape. Meanwhile the correspondence between the affianced pair continued, in sufficiently lover-like language and certainly with infinite compassion on the part of James, while Clementina steadfastly repeats the assurance of her constancy and obedience. The following undated lines in her handwriting are among the papers of 1718:—

> "I doe love none but only one,
> And you are only He.
> Doe you love none but only one,
> Thane lett that one be Mee.
> Clementina Maria Sophia Sobiesky.
> J'ay tout quittez pour vous suivre."

Salmon, Vol. II. p. 86.

George I. declared war against the King of Spain at the end of December—"the Spaniards having rejected all amicable Proposals," as he explained in his speech to Parliament, "and broken through the most solemn Engagements for the Security of our Commerce, it has been found necessary for our Naval Forces to check their Progress. . . . He said it was with pleasure he could assure them of the ready and friendly Resolutions of his good Brother the Regent of France, to concur and join with him in the most rigorous measures."[1]

The declaration of war against Spain, which shortly followed on the part of the Regent, was so obnoxious to the French Court and country that it may be considered the triumph of Abbé Dubois' English policy, and a fulfilment of his promise to Lord Stanhope upon being made Secretary of State: "I owe this place to you, and passionately desire to make it serve the desires of your heart, that is to say the

Lemontey, Vol. I. p. 154.

[1] Early in January proclamations were issued offering £5000 for the arrest of the Duke of Ormonde (in Ireland the reward was £10,000), and £1000 for every other Peer attainted.

service of his Britannic Majesty, whose interests will always be sacred to me." He now described the war upon which France was entering as in truth a civil war, in which it was impossible to foresee who would be for the Regent, while he had against him all who were engaged or inclined to Spain, as well as the Jacobites, more numerous in France than even in England, and who *sans mentir* composed two-thirds of the kingdom. 1718-9. Pub. Rec. Off., France, Jan. 16.

The Duke of Ormonde had already been some weeks in Spain, when James III. was hastily summoned there by Cardinal Alberoni. So hasty was his departure from Rome that he took leave of the Pope by a letter which he left behind him, dated February 7, recommending to his kind care the Princess, who, he hoped, would soon arrive in the Papal States. "Your Holiness can judge of my affliction at being reduced to leave Rome at the moment I expected the Princess, my consort, whose personal merit and heroic constancy render her supremely dear to me." 1719. Pub. Rec. Off., "Roman Transcript Miscel.," 167.

Italy was full of Austrian troops, and, to avoid pursuit, James left by way of the coast, sailing from Nettuno on a ship provided by Admiral Cammock, now in the Spanish service;[1] while the Dukes of Perth and Mar, with three carriages, travelled northward, ostensibly to meet Princess Clementina. Even Count Gallas himself, the Imperial Ambassador at Rome, was persuaded that James was with the two Dukes, and when they were arrested and carried to Milan, the rumour of James's arrest spread instantly all over Europe, reaching Clementina in her fortress, and causing her much distress, until she received his parting letter from Rome.[2] James had a perilous journey. Cardinal Alberoni, writing to inform the Duke of Ormonde of his arrival, recounts:—

> ". . . He risked death a hundred times in the storms he encountered. He remained three days at Marseilles, hidden in the house of the master of the vessel in which he embarked, and was bled for a high fever. He had to take refuge twenty-four hours at Villa Franca, and March 18.

[1] See page 194.

[2] After a few weeks' detention the two Dukes were allowed to return to Rome.

1719. was again forced by stress of weather to put in at the Island of Hières, near Toulon, in a miserable inn, where there was a mob of *canaille*, and where, in spite of being much incommoded with sea-sickness, he had to dance with the landlady, it being carnival-time. . . ."

He landed at Roses, in Catalonia, and received letters from Philip V. and his Queen, welcoming him to Spanish territory, where he will be safe from his enemies; and the King hopes, with the help of God, to do him more essential service.

The extraordinary hardihood of risking a conflict with England and France, while already at war with Austria, and with no other ally than the landless Jacobite king, has generally been attributed to the overweening ambition and adventurous recklessness of Cardinal Alberoni; but his recently-published private letters to his friend Count Rocca of Parma show him in a different light.[1] "With one's masters, one can only make representations and obey," he writes, referring to this war. "That is what I did by word and pen to avoid a rupture; nevertheless, when it became necessary to obey, although I was opposed to the war, I never faltered for a moment in zeal, in attention, in activity, to serve as I ought the King, my Lord and benefactor." He made representations, on his knees and with tears, but his difficulties were great. Philip V. was not only irate to the highest degree with Austria for the imprisonment of his aged Ambassador at Rome—Don José Molines—who had died in the fortress of Milan; but he was already tainted with the sombre malady of hypochondria, which often blinded him to his own most apparent interests, and from which his wife found that the only means to rouse him was, so to speak, by the clatter of arms and the excitement of military preparations.

As for Elizabeth Farnese herself, the object of her ambition was to secure a kingdom in Italy for her infant son, Don Carlos, as the crown of Spain must devolve upon Don Luis, Prince of Asturias, Philip V.'s son by his first wife. Sicily, which had been attributed to the Duke of

[1] *Lettres intimes d'Alberoni au Comte Rocca*, Emile Bourgeois.

Savoy by the treaty of Utrecht, was therefore claimed by Spain, whose troops seized Palermo in July 1718, and proclaimed Philip King of Sicily, amid the rejoicings of the people, whose affections Victor Amedeus had never been able to secure. Elizabeth also laid claim to Parma and Piacenza, as niece to the late and to the present childless Farnese Dukes, Francesco and Antonio; while Philip asserted his right to the succession of Tuscany, where the illustrious house of Medicis was soon to become extinct in the person of its last Duke; all which territories were claimed as fiefs of the Empire by Charles VI. 1719.

James was received at Madrid by the King and Queen "with the greatest tenderness, and with the generosity inherent to their character," wrote Alberoni to Count Rocca, and for the first time since the treaty of Utrecht he found himself once more on a footing of equality with one of the great monarchs of Europe, and treated with all the elaborate homage of the most punctilious of Courts. He cannot but have thought, despite all former disappointments, that the moment of his restoration was at hand; the "strong body of troops," universally acknowledged by all the Jacobites of England as the one thing necessary, and hitherto unattainable from France, Austria, Sweden, or Russia, was actually ready, under the orders of his own commander-in-chief, the Duke of Ormonde, waiting at Corunna for the fleet of 29 sail, with the 5000 men, 10 field-pieces, and 15,000 arms, making ready at Cadiz. Earl Marischal, who, with his brother, Marshal Keith, had been summoned from Bordeaux at Ormonde's suggestion, was given six companies of foot to cover his landing in Scotland, which was to be simultaneous with that of Ormonde in England, and some arms and ammunition—all that could be spared, declared Alberoni, owing to the operations in Italy and on the confines of France. Haste was of such paramount importance, in order to take the English Government by surprise, that Ormonde was to have started, had weather permitted, even before James's arrival in Spain; but contrary winds kept the fleet in harbour, and the Duke wrote to James and to the Cardinal that the delays had made the enterprise March 17 and 22.

1719. very difficult, if not impossible, by giving the enemy time to prepare. When he proposed the plan, he meant it to be a surprise, and he would not be so imprudent as to attack England with 100,000 men if she knew of the design. He has been waiting at Corunna since the 24th February, and thinks it best now to make for Scotland.

The English Government was in fact forewarned; Captain Gardiner arrived express from France on the 16th March, with the news that the preparations of the Spaniards at Cadiz were certainly designed against South Britain, and no time was lost in claiming the fulfilment of the guarantees of France, Austria, and Holland. Dubois hastened to declare that the Regent made no difference between King George's interests and his own, 10,000 troops were hastily levied, and 600 sailors actually landed at Portsmouth. The Regent also offered 1500 more, and some artillery. None of these offers were accepted; a monetary subsidy, eventually fixed at 400,000 *livres* a month, was requested in lieu of the troops, and the English Court seems to have felt some shame at making use of foreign sailors, as the French seamen were sent back with a month's pay.[1]

The States of Holland raised 2000 men, and Austria, breaking through the usual dilatoriness of her movements, prepared six battalions, composed entirely of Protestants, in her Belgian provinces.

These various auxiliaries did not land in England; the elements, always so contrary to the Stuart cause that the Whigs quoted Scripture to prove that those ever-contrary winds were Heaven-sent, while the Jacobites assigned them a very different origin, settled the matter even without the intervention of Admiral Berkeley, cruising in the Channel to safeguard the coasts of England and France.

The Spanish fleet, as it left Cadiz, was met by a frightful tempest, which lasted twelve days, destroying, wrecking, and dispersing nearly the whole number of men-of-war and transports, two vessels only, with Earl Marischal and his small force, reaching Scotland on the 16th of April.

[1] Stanhope to Dubois, 30th March, *Stair Papers*, vol. xxii.; Admiral Berkeley to Stair, 10th April, *The Stair Annals*, vol. ii. pp. 115, 116, 387.

Among the Stuart Papers are the reports of the Captains, sent to James by the Duke of Ormonde, of the disasters to their ships. The King of Spain hastened to promise him that the damage to the fleet should be immediately made good; but Alberoni, at the same time, told him that a second expedition could not be ready before the following August. 1719.

We find the warmest assurances made by the Jacobites; the Duke of Leeds being especially fervent in his protestations of zeal and repentance, while the Duke of Liria [Lord Tynemouth], writing by every post to lay himself and his fortune at his Sovereign's feet, sent him two lists of the officers and sergeants of several English regiments of Guards and Grenadiers who would be ready at twenty-four hours' notice, with horses and arms, "to join the King's army at any place within 20 or 30 miles of London." It will nevertheless ever remain a matter of speculation whether the difficult task of upsetting a regular government would have been accomplished, even had the two expeditions to England and Scotland, and James himself, safely landed to face the coalesced forces of the Quadruple Alliance.[1]

The story of the Scotch attempt is brief. As usual, there was considerable difference of opinion among the chiefs when Lord Marischal with his small Spanish guard, numbering 274, officers included, arrived at Stornoway on the Isle of Lewis. Marischal desired to go immediately to arms; Lord Seaforth and his party, on the other hand, contended that with so slender a force it would be fatal to leave Lewis before hearing of the Duke of Ormonde's landing, and the majority were of opinion that the Duke's instructions did not mean them to force a rising at all hazards. Tullibardine even contemplated embarking his force for Spain forthwith, which Lord Marischal prevented by sending away the frigates with his dispatches after they had landed the arms, ammunition, and stores, part of which were placed in Castle Eileen Douan, a stronghold of the

Keith's "Memoirs," 49.

[1] Admiral Cammock, who had been captain of an English man-of-war, and was now in the Spanish service, and in command of the Barcelona squadron, made several proposals for "getting at" some of the English naval commanders.

1719. Mackenzies at the head of Loch Duich, with a guard of forty men under Captain Stapletone and a Spanish lieutenant. Three English men-of-war appeared before the fort on the evening of the 19th May, and, after sending a flag of truce to demand its surrender, attacked and took it the following morning after a small resistance. The main body of Highlanders and Spaniards were at Glenshiel, where General Wightman, having marched from Inverness on the 5th June, attacked them in the pass "at full six at night." The Jacobites inflicted more loss upon the enemy than they themselves received, Wightman losing 121 wounded and 21 killed, while the Scots lost less than 10 killed and wounded; but the battle was lost for lack of good commandership. The Highlanders made for the tops of the mountains, "where it was impossible to bring them into any order, and night soon separated them all, so that next morning there were hardly any to be seen except some of the Spaniards." Don Nicolas Bolano, who commanded the detachment, offered to attack the enemy once more, but the general officers judging the attempt vain, the Spaniards surrendered as prisoners of war, "and everybody else took the road they liked best."[1]

"Historical Register," Vol. IV. 280.

Keith's "Memoir," 52.

On the 17th June, General Wightman reported:—

"Hist. Register," Vol. IV. 285.

> "I . . . am making a Tour thro' all the different parts of Seaforth's country to terrify the Rebels, by burning the Houses of the Guilty and preserving those of the Honest. . . . There are no Bodies of the Rebels together, unless stealing Parties in Scores up and down the Mountains."

A copy of General Wightman's dispatch, "published by authority," was sent by Mr Jerningham from the Hague to James, announcing his complete victory over the enemy: "the late Lords Seaforth and Marishal, with other attainted persons, embarked this morning. Lord Seaforth and Lord George Murray are wounded. Our loss in killed and wounded 150. How much the Rebels have suffered is not exactly known."

[1] The 274 Spaniards were imprisoned in Edinburgh until their release in the following October.

Events between Spain and France were equally brief. 1719.
A most unwilling army corps was sent to the frontier; from its commander, the Duke of Berwick, to the last private, every man disliked the task of attacking Philip V., a French-born prince, whom they had spent years in defending from Austria and establishing on his throne; and Colonel Stanhope, who had been sent by the English Court to Berwick's head-quarters, wrote to Secretary Craggs of the profound distaste of the whole army for this war. "From morning to night one hears nothing but wishes for peace, language I never yet met with in any army." Nevertheless, Berwick besieged and took Fonterabbia and St Sebastian [2nd August], which determined Philip to make peace. James III.'s presence in Spain had already become an embarrassment, as it was the most offensive of menaces to George I., and the chief obstacle in the way of peace; and Princess Clementina's escape from Innspruch and arrival at Bologna furnished the best of reasons for his return to Italy. Her escape was announced to him with many congratulations by the King of Spain in June, and after a few more negotiations, we are not surprised to find a letter from Cardinal Alberoni, informing him that two galleys are being made ready to take him to any port of Italy he pleases, wishing him a good journey, and expressing great anxiety to hear of his safe arrival.

Pub. Rec. Off., Spain, July 20.

Aug. 12.

CHAPTER X

1719. THE escape of Princess Clementina from Innspruck has often been related; but no familiarity can dull the romance of the imprisoned young Princess, delivered by the knight-errantry of four gallant Irish soldiers, or of the flight with its hardships and perils and its successful issue. Captain Wogan's own account was printed in England in 1722, without name of publisher, and recounts how, armed with Prince James Sobiesky's permission, he had engaged three fellow-officers in Dillon's regiment, who were also his own relations, Major Gaydon and Captains Misset and O'Toole, to aid him in his enterprise.[1] The Princess had not ventured to trust any of her own ladies in the matter, so it was necessary to find a lady to be the companion of her flight. Captain Misset was married to a gentlewoman of Irish birth, but bred in France:—

> "She was young, had a sprightly turn of wit and conversation so engaging as could not fail to make her an acceptable companion. . . . But she was Timorous in her Nature, of a very tender Constitution, and four months gone with Child; the greatest difficulty was how to break so nice an affair to her."

Mrs Misset did not hesitate; after a few moments' reflection she briskly rose up and said what would she not do for a King and Queen, and a husband she loved so well. Her confidential maid, Jenny, was also pressed into the service, on the pretext that they were going to carry off a young heiress who was in love with Captain O'Toole—the tallest and handsomest man of the party—and whose relations had confined her in a convent to force her to marry an old man. The party was completed by a servant named

[1] "Female Fortitude exemplified in an impartial Narrative of the Seizure, Escape, and Marriage of the Princess C—— S——. As it was particularly set down by Mr Charles Wogan (formerly one of the Preston Prisoners), who was chief Manager in that Whole Affair."

Princess Clementina Sobieska.

Mitchell, whom James III. had sent to Captain Wogan, and who had been instrumental in contriving Lord Nithsdale's escape from the Tower. Armed with passports in behalf of Count Cernes, a gentleman of Flanders, which Wogan had obtained from Count Gallas, the Imperial Ambassador in Rome—a circumstance the humour of which probably did not escape this light-hearted Irish party—they set out from Strasburg on the 17th April, travelling by roads "which continued rain and snow had made very deep and dangerous," to Kempten, the frontier of Bavaria and Tyrol, whence Captain Misset and Mitchell went on to apprise Chateaudeau, the Princess's gentleman-usher, of their coming, and that they would wait at Nazareith, a village two posts from Innspruck, for further intelligence from him. The intelligence came in the unwelcome shape of a request for delay. The mother of the young Princess lost heart as the crucial moment drew near, and sent Wogan orders not to come to Innspruck until the 27th at eight o'clock at night; and when the rescuing party arrived there, sent again to urge delay until the following morning, on account of the badness of the weather and darkness of the night. But Wogan was firm; he returned answer that the foul weather made for their advantage, "that it was no time to deliberate now, and that all Motherly Fondness ought to give Way." Clementina herself was resolute, and had procured a rope ladder which she meant to use in case of need. The trouble was with Jenny, the maid, who had the important part to play of taking the Princess's place in bed for as many hours as she could remain there undiscovered; Chateaudeau, who, under cover of a love affair, had won the consent of the gate-porter to bring a woman into the Castle for an hour or so, had arranged to take her in, and to let the Princess out disguised in Jenny's travelling cloak and hood. As the time drew near, Jenny lost heart, and had to be cajoled and bribed and persuaded, the present of a handsome suit of damask at last turning the scale. She set out at eleven o'clock at night with Captain Wogan—Major Gaydon and Chateaudeau preceding them, when one of the latter inadvertently mentioned "the Prin- 1719.

1719. cess," upon which Jenny started and stopped, asking if Captain O'Toole was such a madman as to expect to carry off a Princess. "It will never do, sayd she . . . and for my part" . . . then they were obliged to stop her mouth with fresh Protestations and some pieces of Gold. Chateaudeau took her into the Castle without difficulty, and up to the Princess, who, after asking her mother's blessing, stood ready, bathed in tears, in a furred cloak and hood, and with a parcel of jewels in her hand—the priceless pearls, and some diamonds, which had belonged to Queen Mary of Modena, and which James had been able to convey to his bride. Jenny, while enveloping her in the travelling cloak and hood which she herself had worn, bade her dry her eyes, and cheered her up with comforting assurances of Captain O'Toole's "Honour and Worth." Clementina passed out unchallenged, Chateaudeau bidding her good-night in the porter's presence, and in a voice loud enough to reach Captain Wogan's ear, who was waiting as near the gate as he dared approach.

The rain and snow beat with violence, and the Princess's first words were to apologise for keeping him waiting in such weather; and she laughed as she got her feet wet in the kennel. Wogan led her unnoticed to the inn, where the fire had gone out during the long hours of waiting; they had not ventured to disturb the house by asking for more wood, so Mrs Misset could only dry the Princess's feet and change her shoes and stockings, drawing over them Gaydon's and Wogan's muffs, before leaving Innspruck at two o'clock in the morning of the 28th April. They had not reached the first stage of their journey before it was discovered that the Princess's parcel of jewels had been left behind; she was for going on without them, but to leave such a mark of identity was not to be thought of, and Captain O'Toole rode back "on the spur." He was gifted with uncommon strength, and was able to lift the inn door off its hinges, secure the precious parcel which lay on the table, and get away again unobserved. The travellers reached Brixen at five o'clock in the evening, where they learned the uncomfortable tidings that the Princess of

Baden and her son, the very prince for whom Clementina had been urged to discard James III., were a few stages ahead on their way to Rome with a large retinue, and taking all the post-horses the inns could furnish, at the time the fugitives needed them most in order to get out of the Emperor's territories. 1719.

Clementina was in a state of tense excitement, unable to sleep or eat, but gay and cheerful, and with one all-absorbing wish, as she sat beside Mrs Misset in the stout travelling-carriage, to learn all she could of that England of which, since she was a little child playing with her companions, she had always fancied herself Queen. The Court, the habits, the beauty of the ladies and their style of dress, the names of the principal families, were the subjects of her close and eager questioning, at the same time learning all the English words she could from her companions. Captain Wogan had to tell her of the adventure of Preston, and more particularly of James's voyage into Scotland, of all the many dangers he had run, who was even now engaged in recovering the kingdoms over which he and she would reign. Not until the third day of their journey, and the last Austrian garrison had been passed, did she lay her head back upon the cushions and fall into a sound sleep, in which she probably carried on the waking golden dream.

Their mishaps were many: twice the carriage broke down, the second time so hopelessly that it had to be left at the village of Alla, which they reached at midnight, to find all the inns full of the Princess of Baden's people. With infinite difficulty Mitchell secured a *calash*, little better than a cart, into which the ladies were put, Wogan and Gaydon walking beside them, in order to reach Sery, six miles from there, which was Venetian territory, where they would be in safety.

Presently the Princess was roused from sleep "to take notice of a great Wall which was the Barrier betwixt the Emperor's territories and those of Venice. 'Twas then they sung Te Deum with a cheerful Heart." It was five o'clock on Sunday morning, April 31, and the Princess

1719. immediately went to church to give thanks for her happy escape. Here again the Princess of Baden had taken up all the inns, but the post-master, who had seen the ladies at Mass, offered them the hospitality of his own house. At nine o'clock Captains Misset and O'Toole, who had remained behind to protect their rear, arrived and told the tale of their adventures. As soon as the Princess's flight had been discovered, a courier had been dispatched to Trent to warn the Governor to stop or to pursue her; fortunately he fell in with the two Irishmen at a post-house a few leagues from Trent, who plied him with hospitality and good fellowship and, on hearing his errand, called the post-master to testify that he was too late, that the ladies in question must be out of Austrian territory by now, and that he had better have another drink with them. They mixed a good deal of brandy with the wine and acted their parts so well, "that in a little time the poor German was in such a Pickle, that he was fitter to go to Bed than get a Horseback; having given him his dose and laid him asleep 'twas resolved that O'Toole should go before, to have Horses ready at Trent, and Misset remained behind two hours longer to take care of the Courier." At Trent there were difficulties with the Governor about horses "for Count Cernes' Gentlemen," and they were terribly afraid the courier might recover, and overtake them. At last they got off, and the Princess was wonderfully delighted to have her company all together again, and the coach had by now reached them in good order; so with a pleasant message by the driver of the *calash* "to make a lady's compliments to the Governor of Trent, that had not time to do it herself as she came through, for Reasons he would soon be informed of," Princess Clementina resolved "to move a little further from her good Cousin the Emperor's neighbourhood."

Brit. Mus., "Gualterio Papers," Add. MS. 20, 313 (1).

Major Gaydon tells us, in his account of the escape, of the hardships in the way of food—tea made in a can used for oil, wine soup so detestable that the Princess could not swallow it, bad butter, etc. He also relates that when, at the end of their adventures, he showed her the four pairs

of pistols lying on a table, which would have been used in her defence, this grand-daughter of John Sobiesky looked at them in silence; and, as she passed, laid her hand on her lips and then with a touch of caress on each shining muzzle. There is no doubt that Princess Clementina was richly endowed with that wonderful grace and personal charm which seem to be the inalienable birthright of the women of her race. Joined to these gifts, her sprightliness and high courage combined to make up a very fascinating personality, to which all who knew her bear witness. When, upon their arrival at a place of safety, the Princess was able to attend to her toilet, Mrs Misset exclaimed with wonder and admiration, as she helped to loosen her hair, to see it fall in a beautiful pale-brown mantle almost to her heels. 1719.

Bologna was reached on the 2nd May, whence messages were sent to the Pope and to James Murray at Rome, who had James's procuration for the marriage. Cardinal Origo, the Papal Legate at Bologna, paid Clementina all the attentions her strict incognito would allow of, sent her a present of a "Toylet, Artificial Flowers, and other little Things," a box at the Opera where she might appear without being known, and an officer to attend her and show her the curiosities of the town. Prince James Sobiesky had promised to send Count Konalsky to represent him at the marriage, but as he had not arrived when Murray and an English priest, Mr Mayes, reached Bologna on the 8th of May, it was settled that the Marquis di Monti Boulorois, a zealous friend of James III., should be invited to take his place. During the few days at Bologna, Clementina had been able to provide herself with linen; and with what Major Gaydon describes as "pearl-coloured stuff" for a gown and coiffe. On the morning of the 9th of May she rose at five, put on the pearl-coloured gown and the coiffe, tied with white ribbons, confining her beautiful hair—with Mary of Modena's pearls round her neck—and went, attended by Mrs Misset, to the church for Confession and Communion; after which the marriage ceremony was performed by Mr Mayes, with James

1719. Brit. Mus., "Gualterio Papers," 20, 313 (65).

Murray as proxy for James III. Before it began, Murray read aloud a declaration from "James, by the Grace of God, King," etc., than which a stranger message can seldom have saluted the ears of a bride. It was necessitated by circumstances, for a valid marriage would render Princess Clementina a more desirable capture than ever to George I., as James would be incapable of contracting another marriage while she lived—and she was seventeen years of age. The paper, which Murray was to read "in the most solemn and efficacious manner," set forth that out of affection for the Princess, whom the malice of their enemies would seek with redoubled energy to apprehend if a marriage with "an absolute procuration" had been solemnised between them, therefore ". . . we judged it advisable by these presents to restrain the procuration in such a manner, that if the said Princess should be prevented by violence from joining us after the marriage has been celebrated . . . the said marriage shall be of no effect. . . ." Cardinal Gualterio writes of it as a "*Matrimonio de futuro*," at the same time expressing a doubt whether the presence of a priest would not render it a valid marriage in any case.

The same day the small party started for Rome, where Clementina took up her abode in the Ursuline Convent, Cardinal Gualterio having written to James Murray that the Pope highly approved of her decision and that his niece Donna Teresa Albani would attend her; "but," he adds, "I perceive more and more clearly that it will be very difficult to get this royal bride treated as a Queen," and he recommends the continuance of her incognito. The ladies of James's little Court were not behind their lords in jealousies and suspicions; intrigues to captivate the young bride's confidence began at once, and Cardinal Gualterio, in describing to James the dissensions between the Duchess of Mar and Lady Nithsdale, praises the good sense and firmness of the Queen; and during the four months which elapsed before James's return she seems to have won golden opinions from all.

James landed at Leghorn on the 27th August, and on the 1st September met his bride at Montefiascone, where

Cardinal Gualterio had prepared the house of one of his relations for their reception; the Pope, who seems to have had his doubts about the "*matrimonio de futuro*," had sent instructions to the Bishop of the Diocese to perform the ceremony again, which was accordingly done the evening of their arrival.[1] 1719.

James, in his first letter to Cardinal Gualterio, tells him that his praises of the Queen "had rendered her nothing but justice. . . . I cannot hide from such a friend as you that in the midst of misfortune I count myself the happiest man in the world." Sept. 2 He describes her to the Duke of Mar as the "equalest-temper'd body that ever I saw, and for her age has a good sense and knowledge of the world which is certainly extraordinary. . . . The Queen likes music very well, otherwise she is fond of no sort of diversion, and hitherto I have not been able to discover that she has so much as a will of her own." He was to make that discovery later. Sept. 26. Oct. 22.

Meanwhile he did all he could to reward the four gallant gentlemen who had released his bride from captivity: he knighted them all, and applied to the King of Spain for brevets of Colonel for Sir Charles Wogan, and Lieutenant-Colonel for the other three; as for Lady Misset, the Queen had grown so fond of her that they kept her in Rome, her husband hoping for preferment in the Pope's service. At the end of October James and Clementina went to Rome. It had been the Pope's intention that Urbino, with a winter stay at Pesaro if necessary, should have been James III.'s residence; but whatever differences there might be amongst the Jacobites, from their King downward they were all united in dislike of Urbino, of its distance, its loneliness, and the difficulties it presented for the transaction of all business with the outer world. After some trouble James obtained the Palazzo Muti in the Piazza dei S.S. Apostoli from the Pope as his winter quarters, and a villa at Albano for the summer.

[1] Chateaudeau, who had been imprisoned at Innspruck, was liberated in August at the intercession of the Empress-Mother. Jenny's liberty was not interfered with, and she lived and died in Lady Misset's service.

1719-20. The Duke of Mar was at this time in prison at Geneva. After picking a furious quarrel with James Murray on some coffee-house report, he had left Rome in June for the waters of Bourbon, leaving his wife in Italy, and sending the Seals to James at Madrid. At the request of the English Court he was arrested as he was leaving Geneva, July 3. and gave considerable offence to the Jacobites by applying to Lord Stair for his good offices to obtain his release. He wrote from his prison to James that he meant to retire and live quietly, hoping his master might easily find a more capable man to replace him.

James replied by entreating him not to leave his service, but to return to Rome as soon as ever he gains his liberty, which James is doing his utmost to obtain. He also tries to remove the prejudices Mar entertains, and to quell the disputes between the various factions: "Our Roman disputes vex me heartily, for that the Queen should be plagued with such stuff just on her arrival . . . was a little hard on her." At the same time James owns he could not have thought "the falsehoods and impudence of your pretended friends . . . could have been so great," and he begs the Duke to disavow them, while advising him not to apply again to the Elector of Hanover or his ministers; but Mar had already written to his wife to leave Rome, which she did towards the end of October, paying her respects at Montefiascone on the way.[1]

One of the curious features of eighteenth century Jacobitism was not so much that James and his adherents should continue to hope against hope and to regard each fresh disaster as the prelude of victory, but that foreign statesmen should have returned again and again, undaunted by failure, to consider fresh schemes for a Stuart restoration. Neither the new conditions of affairs in Sweden since the death of Charles XII. and the execution of Baron Goertz, nor the failure of the attempts to send troops into England, could turn Cardinal Alberoni's thoughts away from the fascinating problem. He had sent Patrick Lawless on a

[1] The Duke of Mar was liberated in July 1720, and settled near Versailles with his family.

mission to the Czar, who had taken him to Revel, and declared that, if money could be found and a reasonable project formed, he would join in it with his fleet and army; and, as Abbé Dubois points out to the French Ambassador in London, M. de Senneterre, James's letter from Spain to Queen Ulrica, congratulating her on her accession and claiming her help, was drawn up in the handwriting of the Cardinal's secretary.[1] It is not, therefore, surprising to find that the disgrace of Alberoni was made one of the conditions of peace with Spain by George I. and the Duke of Orleans, nor that Philip V., writing with his own hand to James, should warn him not to believe anything the Cardinal may tell him on his arrival in Rome: "I have discovered matters concerning him which would fill you with horror, and clearly prove that no credit should be given to what he says."

1719-20.

Pub. Rec. Off., France, Aug. 5.

Jan. 14.

From England Bishop Atterbury wrote that never was there a more favourable opportunity than the present, "but if it be not laid hold of by France and Spain, matters will alter here in some time for the worse." The Duke of Norfolk, Sir William Wyndham, Lord Bathurst, Mr Cæsar, and Lord Gore wrote in the same strain, and Lord Lansdowne and his friends drew up a Declaration in the King's name to the English people. Lord Lansdowne also advised that if the child Queen Clementina was expecting proved a son, he might bear the name of Charles, "which is respected in England in memory of the first, and beloved in regard to the second." In Paris, Law, the financier, whose great scheme was swelling to its height, before bursting in insolvency and ruin, offered his services; and did, in fact, prove useful in procuring the payment of Princess Clementina's dowry of 600,000 crowns. From Scotland too came protestations, and there is a curious letter from James to Lord Lovat, who had approached the

May 6.

1720.

Oct. 14.

[1] "The Court of Russia published a memorial, complaining that the King of Great Britain had entered into an alliance with their enemies the Swedes. . . . The Court of England replied that Russia was in a Confederacy with the Pretender; and to induce Sweden to make a separate Peace with Russia, the Czar had offered to assist them in recovering Bremen and Verden from King George."—*Salmon's Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 94.

1720. Marquis of Tullibardine and Glengarry, assuring him that "a sincere repentance shall ever find me full of clemency, and future service will always blot out the memory of past mistakes."

James was ready to start for France at a moment's notice, but the Dukes of Berwick and Ormonde wrote—the one from Bordeaux and the other from Madrid—that there was nothing to be done, and the fleet Spain was preparing was not intended against England, but against the Moors.[1] James wrote again and again to the Duke of Mar, urging his return, and before the end of the year sent Colonel John Hay to Paris, who reports that matters in England (the South Sea bubble having just burst) are in dire confusion, the first families ruined, and the common cry in Paris, "why does not Peter [James] go home, he'll find his business so easy that it will do of itself." At the same time Hay feels bound to tell him in a private note that prejudice is so strong against James Murray [who was Hay's brother-in-law] that the King's service suffers by it daily. The English Jacobites consider him quite unfitted for business, and it is true that his want of temper and prudence are considerable faults in a man who has to deal with many different people. No one in England will accept to succeed the Duke of Mar, if Murray is about the King. So strong was the dislike and apprehension of James Murray that the Duke of Mar, General Dillon, and Lord Lansdowne took it upon themselves to delay sending a proclamation James had committed to them for England, because it spoke in terms of praise of Murray, and was accompanied by a short *apologia* from Murray himself. James repeated his orders that the papers should be sent, and reminded the Duke of Mar that he had on a former occasion blamed the Queen-mother for stopping a paper till further orders.

Nov. 4 and 5.

On the 1st January 1721, James wrote to Louis XV., the Regent Orleans, the Emperor of Austria, the Czar, and the other chief monarchs of Europe, to notify that his consort had given birth to a son the previous evening. "After

[1] Negotiations for the peace of Cambrai were in progress.

five days' labour," he writes to the Duke of Lorraine, "which gave us much alarm for them both; the child is strong and robust, and is named Charles Edward." He tells the Czar that he hopes this event "may sooner or later prove of some utility to your Imperial Majesty," and it may have been with some slight sense of triumph that he assured the Emperor of Austria that, notwithstanding the measures his Imperial Majesty had found it necessary formerly to take, the ties of blood and the justice and rectitude of his heart would no doubt incline him to receive with pleasure the news "that the Queen, your cousin, has borne me a Prince of Wales." In sending the news to England through his agent, Henry Straton, he says: "Let this keep up your hearts and courage for better days, which I am labouring to hasten all I can"; and he assures the Duke of Ormonde that his "brave lusty boy shall be dressed and looked after, as much as the climate will allow, in the English way; for though I can't help his being born in Italy, yet as much as in me lyes he shall be English for the rest all over."

1721. Jan. 1.

Among those labouring "for better days" in England there seems very little doubt that Lord Sunderland, George I.'s chief Secretary of State, might be counted.[1] He entered into negotiations with Lord Balmerino in Scotland, as well as with the English Jacobites, and James writes in cypher to Mr Cæsar:—

> "... I find you are still of opinion that Lord Sunderland intends to serve me effectually ... but any dependence we may have on him must not hinder our helping ourselves. I think I should have a very fair game of it were I at this time even alone among you. This is really my opinion, and that by a delay we may venture fairly loosing the finest opportunity that ever offered. I am thinking seriously on the matter, but as nothing must be precipitated ... I am endeavouring to get the best lights I can before I come to a final resolution. ..."

Oct. 27.

James counted on the friendship of France, where, as he had written a few months previously to Mr Cæsar,

[1] After Sunderland's death, May 1722, the Regent told Abbé Dubois that it was a greater loss to the Pretender than to King George.—*Brit Mus.*, *Coxe Papers*, vol. 52 (49).

1721. he had but one enemy—but that a redoubtable one—Abbé Dubois, lately promoted to the archbishopric of Cambrai :—

> "I have been considering . . . what depended on me to gain him, but as yet I cannot discover whether he be to be gained or not, or what alteration his friend Stanhope's death may have made upon him."[1]

James had already done his best. The Cardinalate was the object of Dubois' intense and feverish desire. His own career depended upon the life of the Regent, and disgrace and fall from power, perhaps even worse, would be his lot were the Duke of Orleans to succumb. The only refuge of safety lay in the high protection of the Church conferred by the Cardinalate, and the ruses and doublings of "the fox," as he was often called from his likeness to that animal, seeking to run to earth in the purple, are admirably described by M. Wiesener. Dubois had the consummate ability to enlist James III. and George I. in equally warm intercession on his behalf, and the dying Pope—for Clement XI. was nearing his end—was besieged with solicitations from them as well as from the Regent and the Emperor of Austria.

"Le Régent, l'Abbé Dubois et les Anglais."

He yielded at last, but in so doing deprived the gift of its chief value by granting it solely at the request of James III. Desirous of giving him marks of his paternal predilection, he would gladly have made the Archbishop of Cambrai a cardinal at once in accordance with James's continued and pressing instances, but it was impossible for the moment, as he had lately made so many foreign cardinals. He then lays down his conditions—that France would undertake not to support the Duke of Parma's pretensions [at the treaty of Cambrai] to the Duchies of Castro and Ronciglione, and James must obtain the promise in writing as an indispensable preliminary. In that case the Pope will make Dubois a cardinal at the next promotion, "provided Your Majesty continues in the same favourable disposition towards the Archbishop of Cambrai, and not

[1] Lord Stanhope died in February, and was succeeded by Lord Townshend as Secretary of State.

otherwise." In other words, Clement XI. recognised no other nomination but that of James III., and adroitly postponed its fulfilment until the negotiations at Cambrai should have pronounced upon his interests. Dubois recoiled from the poisoned gift, not daring to show the letter, which James had sent him, to the Regent; and writing to Monsignor Lafiteau, his agent in Rome—"If discord herself had penned it, she could not have produced a document better calculated to embarrass and injure all those whom it concerns."[1] His chief dread was that it should come to the knowledge of the English Ministry, which it instantly did, through the Austrian diplomatists—but strange to say, Dubois was easily forgiven. The alliance with France depended upon him, and Sir Robert Sutton, who had succeeded Lord Stair as Ambassador in Paris, had no harsher word for him than that it was a pity "our Archbishop" in his pursuit of the hat should be constrained to "too much complaisance towards all who can help or traverse him."

1721.

Pub. Rec. Off., France, Feb. 21.

Clement XI. died on the 21st March, and was succeeded by Cardinal Conti under the title of Innocent XIII., who bestowed the much-coveted hat upon the Archbishop of Cambrai in the following July.

Sir Robert Sutton, the English Ambassador in Paris, made no complaint of the presence of the Pretender's late Secretary of State in Paris, for the excellent reason that the Duke of Mar was now in receipt of a pension of £2000 a year from the English Court. Mar had astutely represented to James that his friends in England had recovered part of his estate for him, that General Dillon advised him to accept, as there were no conditions except that he should not meddle in affairs, but live privately; to which James unsuspiciously replied, fully approving of his accepting what he could get from England.

Mar continued, with General Dillon and Lord Lansdowne, to manage James's affairs in Paris, and to correspond with the English Jacobites. Far cleverer than his two associates, he led them entirely, and imposed his will upon them in

[1] *Sévelinges*, vol. ii. p. 42.

1721. all things. He had represented James Murray as entirely unfit for the place he had held in James's service since his own departure; and it is impossible to say how far the prejudice against Murray in England arose from his own faults of temper and imprudence, or from the accusations and insinuations of the Duke of Mar. Wearied with the ill-usage and jealousies, the blackening of his character by his enemies, Murray offered his resignation again and
Sept. 24. again, until it was reluctantly accepted; James at the same time declaring his high appreciation of his faithful servant's integrity. He gave him strong letters of introduction to the Duke of Bavaria and the Prince of Vaudemont, and treated him so well in the way of supplies that the Duke of
Oct. 8. Mar was shocked to see him arrive in Paris "in such good clothes," with coach and servants in good livery, when "he has not of his own to afford it." Murray, on his side, had discovered even before arriving in Paris that the Duke was constantly with Sir Robert Sutton, the English Ambassador.

James III. had written to his friends in England, as well as to the Duke of Mar, Lansdowne, and Dillon, to consult together, and send him a fit person to fill the vacant post of Secretary. Various names were suggested, including Matthew Prior and Law, who had just been dismissed from his post of Financial Secretary of France; but no man in England, with an estate to lose, cared to incur outlawry and the loss of all his possessions by accepting the post. The Duke of Ormonde was busy in Spain, pressing James's claims upon Philip V., from whom he received a considerable pension, and it was hoped that any moment might find him at the head of an expedition into England. James at last determined to summon Lord Lansdowne, who was living in France; Lansdowne replied that he was ready to obey, but it would mean the loss of what little remained
1721-2. to him, and he had a wife and three children. James
Oct. 6. immediately declared that after "his sincere and zealous letter, it would be cruelty in me to require his present attendance."

There can be little doubt that from this time forward the Duke of Mar, while ostensibly zealous in James's

service, was secretly acting against him. There were two men who were absolutely faithful to their master, James Murray and Colonel John Hay. Mar had succeeded in sending Murray away, but he was still on the best of terms with Hay, his brother-in-law by his first wife, and who trusted him entirely. Before the end of the year we find the first insinuation made by him that possibly the young Queen, who had begun to look coldly on Hay, was jealous of Mrs Hay. He is pretty certain of it, and has been for some time; he deprecates Hay "removing his quarters," but suggests that he should send his wife to England for a time, which would cure "any such thing, if any there be." 1721-2.

In England, in default of foreign aid, things appeared to be working up to an insurrection under the guidance of the Bishop of Rochester, Lord Oxford, Lord Strafford, who had, like Oxford, become an ardent Jacobite during his sojourn in the Tower; Lords Orrery, North and Grey, and Falkland, Mr Cæsar, and Sir Henry Goring, who was sent to Paris to consult with the Jacobites there. Mr Christopher Layer, a well-known barrister, went to Rome and laid the Jacobite plans—which appear to have comprised the seizing of the Tower of London—before the King.

James forthwith sent orders that the Duke of Mar and General Dillon should go to Scotland, Lord Lansdowne to command in Cornwall, Lord Strafford in the north, and Lord Arran "hath already my commission of General of all England and Ireland"—the first motion to be made in Scotland:— Jan. 2.

> "It is not easy for me to express the concern I am in at the manifest impossibility of my being present at the beginning of the great attempt, but my friends may be assured that the moment my leaving Rome can no more occasion the prevention of the project's taking effect, that I shall loose no time in joining them."

He writes at the same time to General Dillon that he means to leave Rome when Dillon and the Duke of Mar leave Paris, and to make all the dispatch he can by way of Frankfort to Rotterdam, and wait there to have

1722. accounts from England as to where he may land. If the Duke of Mar, Dillon, and Lord Lansdowne approve of his plan, they must write "to Dundass to get a ship ready in Holland." He enclosed letters to Generals Rothe, Lee, Nugent, Skelton, O'Donnell, Cooke, and Lord Clare in the French service, empowering them to summon in his name all such officers as they shall think fit to be assembled and conveyed into Britain.

March 16. It is not surprising to find that the Duke of Mar sent very deterrent answers to these proposals:—the letters from England are disappointing, the people there send no money and desire to begin on the 15th April, though they were repeatedly assured that two months' warning must be given; and he concludes: "consequently there is an end to the project at this time," the rising is an impossibility, and he throws out a hint that he will be able to procure a restoration by a French force. James had done his utmost to get money from Spain and from the Pope, and had applied to Sweden for the return of the 175,000 *livres* he had sent "Charles XII. of glorious memory." The project has

April 13. failed for want of money, he writes to Lord Lansdowne, and of the one thing necessary in England, a responsible head. He suggests Lord Oxford for the post, and adds:—

> "It might be proposed for example to divide the Kingdom into seven parts, each to have a Commander-in-chief, and those Commanders to take all necessary precautions to prepare a rising on a day to be appointed by me; some of those Commanders are already named by me, and to fill up the number Lord Oxford might be consulted. . . . This is a first and very imperfect idea, but I would loose no time in transmitting it to you, because I am convinced that nothing but a project carried on more or less in this form can ever come to good. . . ."

The Jacobite projects did not remain concealed from the

Salmon, Vol. II. p. 122. English Government. On the 18th May Lord Townshend sent a letter to the Lord Mayor, to acquaint him with the "wicked Conspiracy in Concert with Traitors abroad for raising a Rebellion in the Kingdom in favour of a Popish Pretender," and recommending the "Preservation of the Public Peace and Security of the City to his Lordship and his Brethren." Mr Walpole was sent to Holland to demand forces

from there, and Colonel William Stanhope, English Ambassador at Madrid, was instructed to demand that effectual means might be taken to prevent the Duke of Ormonde and other Irish officers from leaving the Spanish dominions.[1] Mr George Kelly, a non-juring clergyman, and one of the principal Jacobite messengers between Paris and London, was seized and thrown into prison, but he managed to throw his papers into the fire; and, as James wrote to General Dillon, behaved very well and gave no information when examined. Mr Thomas Carte, another non-juring clergyman, was also arrested, and Lord Justice Clerk wrote from Edinburgh to Lord Townshend that he had obeyed his instructions and seized Mr William Erskine and committed him to the Castle, having found one most material paper in his pocket, "in my Lord Mar's own hand . . . and very plain."

1722. Pub. Rec. Off., Spain, June 6.

Ibid., Dom. George I., 184.

The Bishop of Rochester was strongly suspected, but there was no evidence against him until it was obligingly supplied by the Duke of Mar. Needless to say all correspondence between the Jacobites in Rome, Paris, and England was carried on in cypher and with cant names, and generally carried by trusty messengers; but in order to furnish evidence against Dr Atterbury, Mar wrote a compromising letter in plain characters, sent it by the ordinary post, where it was of course opened, and led to the arrest of the Bishop, of Lords Orrery and North and Grey, and Mr Christopher Layer, barrister-at-law, who were all committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. Mar's letter subsequently became the means, after Dr Atterbury's release from prison the following year, of exposing the Duke's treachery.

Meanwhile James's domestic affairs were not proceeding smoothly. The beautiful high-souled women whom his father and his grandfather had had the happiness to call wife,

[1] Sir Anthony Westcombe, English Agent at Bilbao, wrote to Lord Carteret that it would be of little use to deprive the Jacobites there of their arms, as they can have what number they please from England; "the merchantmen that come to Biscay have brought several chests of musquets and other firearms from London . . . for the Rebels and Jacobites in Spain . . . some marked J. R. with a crown over it, which half this town have seen."—*Pub. Rec. Off.*, *Spain*, 429.

1722. made of their home a sanctuary where those much-tried men could momentarily forget, or gather strength and courage to withstand, the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune; and if Henrietta Maria's political influence was not wise, its exercise at least never tarnished the harmony and mutual trust which reigned between her and Charles I., while James II. might have used towards Mary of Modena the words she spoke of him after his death, that she alone "had made life sweet and supportable." Such blissful peace and healing compensation were not to be the portion of their doubly-unfortunate descendant; as true an example of conjugal fidelity as Charles I., as greatly in need as James II., in the sorrow and irksomeness of exile and baffled hopes and efforts, of the help and support which only the trustful self-abnegation of a wife could give, James III. was to find in Clementina the chief opponent of his policy, the vehement head of a faction; and, in course of time, the chief weapon in the hands of his enemies. Of the young Queen's affection for her husband there can be no doubt, but disappointment at his ill-success, perhaps some irritation at his minute and detailed exercise of authority, disappointment too at finding herself, after her royal dreams and romantic escapades, little likely to be more than a Queen *in partibus*, hedged in by the hampering restraints of royalty and with none of its privileges, combined to throw her intelligent but narrow-minded energy into paths opposed to those of her husband, to make her distrust his judgment and criticise his acts. Possessed of a violent temper, and of obstinacy for which one of the Italians, at a later time, could find no adequate term but *insuperabile*, Clementina was, in her way, perfectly conscientious, very devout and charitable, and of so fascinating a manner and conversation that she captivated all who approached her—Jacobites, Italians, Whigs, and Tories—her very enemies succumbed to the subtle charm which still holds us in her badly-spelt, badly-written little letters, and she was far more popular than her grave and reticent husband.[1]

[1] An instance of this occurs in a letter from Rome, from the Whig Lord Blandford, describing how Clementina had won him to the homage of kissing the

Honest John Hay was aghast at the growing disunion between the royal pair, and, after several weeks' anxious thought, he determined to write and consult the Duke of Mar, his friend of friends, and whom he looked upon as his equal in devotion to the King—"to yourself alone, neither would I say to any one living what I am going to inform you." The disunion between the King and Queen increases every day :— 1722. April 21.

"... Their tempers are so very different that, tho' in the greatest trifles they are never of the same opinion, the one wont yield one Inch to the other; the dread of being governed and the desire of governing, passion, youth ingrafted by a little mean education, will ever afford matter for supporting their differences, which must end in something very dismall, their healths are equally ruined by it, and it is impossible they can hold out so; unhappy must the spectators of such a scene always be, and yet more so those who, when it makes an *éclat*, must unavoidably bear a share in the blame, tho' never so innocent; this leads me to tell you that I cannot think of exposeing myself to be witness to what these differences must make appear sooner or later; therefore, I am resolved, as soon as I can find the least feasible pretence, to putt myself at a distance from this laberinth of misery. ... What must happen will be equally dismall, should Andrew [Clementina] have cunning enough to gett the better of Peter [James], which, indeed, I do not believe will be the case, matters will go on att a very strange rate, everything will be governed by whim and fancy, without any manner of difference made betwixt the advice of a chambermaid and that of a man of sense ... and adieu all thoughts of a restoration.

"On the other hand, shall they fall out together, what a noise must that make, where will be our prospect of a Succession. ... My removal puzzles me very much, I dread that Peter will fire upon it ... but I must seek for the best pretence I can ... nothing but the fear of disobliging Peter hinders me from leaving Rome to-morrow ... I have not the heart to do anything to displease him ... what shall I do? ...

"In answer to yours [advising him to send his wife away], last autumn I proposed sending Mrs Car [his wife] to Naples to the waters; Andrew [Clementina] flew in the face of it, and told me not to propose it to Peter, for she would never give her consent, and said I must not wish her well if I insisted upon it. ... I desire nothing so much as to draw Mrs Car out of the scrape, tho' I am persuaded that will signify nothing to the bringing about the wished-for union.

"Andrew has not found out the way to please Peter, and would have the direction of everything without taking that trouble, and since I have

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hand of her infant son in his cradle, and charmed him by her sensible remarks as to the duties of a Catholic Prince to his Protestant subjects.—Quoted in Ewald's *Life of Prince Charles Edward.*

1722. said so much I will say yet more, that it will be the dismallest sight for Peter's adherents when Andrew getts the management; the great character he [she] has gott is owing to those about her, and few, I believe, have contributed more to it than myself, and to hide infirmities which, I hope, a little more experience will cure; she is in her heart a declared enemy to our and neighbouring countries, this you will find, but, for God's sake burn all, and show this to no one living, after this I serve him [her] most faithfully, and ever shall. . . ."

This long and, let us hope, somewhat exaggerated letter concludes by saying that for the last fortnight things have been much easier than for some time past, and that the Queen thinks of going to the Baths of Lucca. Hay means to do all he can to hinder his wife from going, and has already talked of sending her to Naples as better for her health.

Clementina, under the name of Countess of Cornwall, did go to Lucca, and did take Mrs Hay with her; her letters to her husband are charming, gay, and full of tenderness. She sends him a present of some wine and a little dog—the emblem of fidelity—"so you must take it as such, and, if envy were permissible, I should envy the happiness this dog will have of being near all I hold most dear in the world . . . you know very well that I love you beyond all expression." In another letter she hopes this little separation will increase, if it be possible, their mutual tenderness; "I am trying to overcome my naughty temper, so as to appear to you the best girl in the world, *la meilleure fille du monde.*"

Aug. 1. James joined his wife at the Baths of Lucca in August, desiring to be with her when the expected news of the death of her mother should reach her.[1] While there, out of affection for the inhabitants and gratitude for their kind reception, he "touched for the King's evil" each Thursday. The archives of Lucca preserve a description of the ceremony, which is worth setting down as a record of a time-honoured English Royal custom, soon to become extinct.

Archives of Lucca, Doc. N. VI., F. Acton. "The King knelt on a cushion, and the other assistants, including the children of both sexes who were to be touched, on the ground. The

[1] The Princess James Sobieska died at the beginning of August.

King's Confessor, an Irish Dominican . . . wearing *cotta* and stole, recited certain prayers, to which His Majesty responded. The priest then read the Gospel of Christ's ordering His disciples to go and teach all nations, and when he came to the words, '*Super egros manus imponent et bene habebunt*,' one of the King's aides-de-camp led the children one by one to his Majesty, who was now seated, and who laid his hand upon each, the priest meanwhile repeating '*Super egros, etc.*' The King then knelt and recited certain prayers, after which, resuming his seat, he hung a silver medal, bearing St Edward on one side and three ships on the other, round the neck of each child. The King performed the ceremony in a saintly manner, with great devoutness and recollection of mind." 1722.

The Congress of Cambrai was at last about to open, and James issued a manifesto, dated Lucca, September 10, asserting his rights to the throne of England. The proclamation had, according to Lord Lansdowne, "a very strong operation"; it was burned by the common hangman (7th December), and what Lansdowne calls the "flaming notes and addresses upon it" soon spread it all over Europe,—

"who will be left to judge to which those Epithets of False, Insolent and Traytorous may most justly be applied. Since the World was a World such language was hardly ever given by one Prince to Another, nor cannot be justified in any Nation in the Universe. . . ." Dec. 7, 14.

Meanwhile, though no one in Paris, Rome, or Madrid as yet suspected the Duke of Mar, the fact that there was treachery had become manifest. Lord Lansdowne and the Duke of Ormonde write simultaneously to James that there must be a traitor in England, and that he must be unearthed; while among the Jacobites in that country the old distrust of Mar was reviving. James writes from Pisa to General Dillon on the subject:—

". . . The suspicions our friends have at present are very unlucky and I much apprehend they will not be so easily removed. . . . As to my lord Mar, his case is most lamentable, he can best judge of what may be fitt for him to do in his own justification. . . . I doubt much anything he could say at present would destroy the ill-grounded opinion some of our friends have conceived of him. . . . It would certainly be most improper for me to propose to the Duke of Mar his removal from Paris, and I shall not seem to know of anybody's having such a thought, for it would be a great discouragement to my faithfull servants, if little, Sept. 24.

1722-3. indirect and ill-grounded insinuations should induce me to make any step against him. . . ."

In November the Duke of Norfolk was sent to the Tower, not without a protest from the House of Lords, and causing Lord Lansdowne to remark that the Duke, having ever been a man upon the watch against anything that might expose him to the least hazard, it was plain the Government had "found an entrance into the most secret paths." It soon became evident that out of prudence, or for want of evidence, the Bishop of Rochester and the other Lords would be lightly dealt with, and that Christopher Layer was to be the only victim. He was treated at his trial with considerable severity, the Court refusing his plea and that of his counsel, Mr Hungerford, that his irons might be removed: "they were so grievous to him that he could not sleep but in one Posture, and he could not stand at this time, if the Gentleman Gaoler did not help to hold up his Fetters." An informer named Lynch was one of the two chief witnesses against him, and the other, a woman of the name of Mason, appears to have given false testimony. She was represented as having been in the Pretender's household the previous year when Mr Layer was in Rome, and to have seen him there, and the fact that a Mrs Hughes, who had been sent from England as a nurse for the infant prince, returned at this time, gave colour to the statement. James stoutly maintained the innocence of Mrs Hughes, and wrote to Lord Lansdowne that he had no servant of the name of Mason, "so the whole thing must be a wicked fabrication, and it is terrible to think that Layer should lose his life on such evidence."

Salmon, Vol. II. p. 128.

January.

Layer was condemned on the 31st November to the traitor's death of hanging, drawing, and quartering, but was respited, "to see if they could sift anything out of him against the other State-prisoners," from time to time till the 28th May. He had expressed the hope, on hearing his sentence, that he might die like a gentleman and a Christian, and he seems to have done so. He made a short speech on the scaffold:—

"I come here to suffer an Ignominious Death; but not for an Ignominious Crime, but for following the Dictates of my Conscience, and endeavouring to do my Duty. As I die for so doing, I doubt not but I shall soon be happy; But am certain this Nation can never be so, nor even easy, until their lawful King is plac'd upon his Throne. I forgive every Body, and desire Forgiveness from God for my Sins, and from Men for what Injuries I may have done them." 1722-3.

The fact that Layer was a Protestant deepened the impression of this testimony, sealed with his blood.[1]

In view of the sudden call from England which James, who had returned to Rome at the end of October, daily expected, and for which he bade Dillon and the Duke of Ormonde make ready, ships had been prepared on the Spanish coast for his service. Captain Gardner and a Mr Fordyce had the *Revolution*, the *Lady Mary*, and apparently a third vessel ready. Gardner's project was to cruise in Italian waters against the Turks, with a view to having two ships always at James's disposal, and Mr Fordyce had a *congé* from the King of Spain under the same pretext. The English Government were kept fully informed by their agents in Spain, and Captain Scott, with the *Dragon* and the *Leopard*, left Gibraltar at the end of October in quest of the *Revolution* and her sister-ships. He found the *Revolution* at Genoa, and seized her without informing the authorities: "If I had waited for their consent, they would have pleaded the Laws of their Porto Franco against my doing it at all." Captain Gardner had time to burn his papers, and to retreat with two of his gentlemen, Messrs Monroe and French, to the Dominican monastery, while Mr Forbes took refuge at the house of the Spanish Minister; and a copy of Captain Gardner's letter to Lord Carteret, complaining of the seizure of his ship, is among the Stuart Papers.[2]

Dec. 14.

Pub. Rec. Off., Doc. George I., 447.

The chief agent and spy of the English Court at Rome was a certain Baron Philip de Stosch, a Prussian by birth,

1723. Pub. Rec. Off., S. P. Foreign, Rome, Vol. XIV.

[1] Layer's quarters were permitted to be buried at Kensington, his head was fixed on a pole upon Temple Bar.

[2] James wrote to the Duke of Ormonde that there must have been foul play, which Ormonde must try and find out. There probably was, but, nevertheless, Sir Anthony Westcomb had written to Stanhope from Bilbao in August, of the open preparations and careless talk of the officers of the *Revolution*.

1723. who, under the name of "John Walton," sent reports to England during a period of thirty years, which fill several volumes, and who made it his boast that there was never a day when his spies were not on duty inside and outside the Palazzo Muti, or the Villa at Albano. His character and business were strongly suspected at Rome, but the influence of England at Vienna had obtained for him the protection of the Imperial Ambassador and consequent immunity. He recognised at once that the only man of ability in the Pretender's service was Colonel Hay; and it is curious to find that he writes in January of the absolute necessity for King George's service of removing him "by any means *per fas et nefas* from Rome," at the very time when Lord Lansdowne and General Dillon, evidently inspired by the Duke of Mar, were writing that, after much anxious con-
January. sultation, they advise him to retire for a while, taking Mrs Hay with him. Dillon adds that England has so high an opinion of the King and Queen that it would be a great misfortune if anything prejudicial came out concerning their disagreements, and that Hay should be the cause of them.

Before the birth of his son, James had written to General Dillon to propose to his sister-in-law Mrs Sheldon, or to Mrs Plowden at St Germains, that one of them should come to Rome as governess to the royal children. Mrs Plowden declined on account of her own children, but Mrs Sheldon, who was a single lady, accepted, and soon obtained great influence over the young Queen. The Duke of Mar had written to Hay that his letter of the 21st April had been duly burned, but it is doing him no injustice to presume that he did not refrain from making its contents more or less known to Clementina, through the safe channel of the correspondence Mrs Sheldon kept up with St Germains; and here we may find the true secret, to which the fact of Hay's Protestantism was subservient, of that Princess's inimity to him and his wife. From first to last she never breathed nor entertained a suspicion as to her husband's relations with Mrs Hay; that calumny, foreshadowed as we have seen by the Duke of Mar, was the

invention of Philip de Stosch, *alias* John Walton. James's moral character seems to have been above reproach, ever— 1723.

"Wearing the white flower of a blameless life."

Not only was he to be able to say of his wife that she was the woman he had solely loved, but there is not a tittle of reliable information to the contrary at any time of his life, the very spies at Bar-le-Duc testifying to the Electress Sophia of the blamelessness of his moral life.[1]

Colonel Hay was anxious to leave Rome, but his difficulty, as he wrote to the Duke of Mar, was how to do so without offending the King, or letting him know that the Queen was the cause of his leaving, which might increase the differences between them. Stosch, in his letters to Lord Carteret, declared that the dissensions among the Pretender's adherents in Rome amounted almost to a state of civil war; if Colonel Hay could only be removed, the others would "consume themselves" by their mutual jealousies, which might easily be fomented to the point that half of them would abandon their master if they had the means to subsist elsewhere. Sad to say, the young Queen, in her ignorance and presumption, threw herself vehemently into the fray, allowing herself to be placed at the head of the Catholic faction who, as early as the days of Montefiascone, made her believe that she was their only support and protection, owing to the King's partiality, as they called it, for the Protestants. James had removed two of the chief disturbers, a certain Creach and Lady Misset, from Clementina's service, with the result that she openly accused Hay of being the cause of their dismissal, as well as of her differences with the King. Hay, in a manly and candid letter, offered, if it were true as some people said, that her Majesty had conceived a jealousy of Mrs Hay, to set about instantly to find ways and pretexts for sending her to her friends in England, as

[1] See Appendix M. Stosch, whom Horace Walpole calls "a man of most infamous character in every respect," was the inventor of the calumnies against James III. which have been generally adopted. When Horace Mann hinted that Stosch's intelligence was false, Walpole replied: "Nobody regards it but the King; it pleases him—*e basta*."—*May* 4, 1743.

1723. he prefers the King's service to his own happiness and comfort. He is as much persuaded of the King's virtue as of that of his wife, and that the aspersions were contrived by people "to get at their own ends," but her Majesty must believe that he is ready to sacrifice everything that is dearest to him for her satisfaction. Clementina did not accept Colonel Hay's offer. She was not jealous of Mrs Hay, but of Hay's influence over her husband; she was angry with James because he did not confide his secret affairs to her, and she unfortunately had a strong prejudice against Protestants.

The Bishop of Rochester was found guilty of conspiring against George I., and banished "for ever from the realms of England." He made a magnificent defence, and several Lords entered their protests against his condemnation. On the 18th June, with his daughter and son-in-law, Mr Morrice, the deprived Bishop, was put on board the *Aldborough* man-of-war and landed at Calais on the 21st, and there, by a dramatic coincidence, he met Lord Bolingbroke, whose pardon had passed the seals a few days previously and who was on his way to England. Many thoughts must have passed through the minds of the two men as they came face to face, but the only words uttered were Atterbury's well-known remark—that they were *exchanged.*[1]

Aug. 14. James wrote an affectionate letter to the Bishop at Brussels, inviting him to Rome, if he stays there himself; but Rochester now probably knows from their friends at Paris what is contemplated, and he is sending Colonel Hay to confer with him. Undeterred by failure, and in the belief that the proceedings in the new Parliament and the long suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act had exasperated the nation to the last degree and made them yet more ready to receive him with open arms, James determined, while still going on with his negotiations with the great powers, notably through Sir Henry Stirling with the Czar, to make a direct attempt upon Scotland, seeing no greater

[1] The Duke of Norfolk and the other State prisoners were discharged from the Tower on their own recognisances a few months later.

evil than delay. He repeated his orders to the Duke of Mar and General Dillon to precede him thither, and to the Duke of Ormonde to go, if possible, to England, writing at the same time to the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Lovat to do their part.[1] He obtained, not without difficulty, 50,000 *scudi* from Pope Innocent XIII., and a swift sailing vessel from Spain, but the answers he received from England were not favourable. Lord Orrery wrote to him that, though it was not an extravagant computation to say that four out of five of the whole nation wished him well, "people of reflexion and fortunes" would hardly venture their lives and estates unless they saw some tolerable chance to succeed, and soldiers would hardly desert unless there was a body of soldiers to desert to. The Government is despised and abhorred, but its power is feared, the more so that it is cruelly exercised, and "by the fatal corruption that prevails almost over the whole nation" the Court has absolute power in both Houses of Parliament. A greater disadvantage even lies in "the indolence, the inactivity, and almost despair of many of your chief friends." The conclusion is the old refrain—with a good body of regular troops and a large sum of money James would have a fair chance of success.

1723.

Nov. 15.

The chief hope lay, therefore, with Peter the Great. Through Sir Henry Stirling he sent word that, if France could be prevailed upon to assist, little would be wanting to bring the Restoration to a period, unless indeed the Turks went to war with him. If not, the Czar, according to Stirling, will certainly avenge himself upon King George, who is reported to be doing his best to get the Kings of Prussia, Poland, and Denmark into a league against him.

Oct. 25.

James's only enemy in France, as he had called him, Cardinal Dubois, had died in August, and by that time tardy suspicions of the Duke of Mar had been aroused in James, whose chief commission to Colonel Hay had been to go to Paris and inquire into his proceedings. "When

[1] James also sent orders to Colonel Stuart of Kinachin to seize Blair Athole, and to the Earls of Eglinton, Glasgow, Wigtown, and Glencairn, to Sir James Campbell and Glengarry.

1723-4. once I can get myself handsomely out of his clutches," he wrote in a private letter to Hay, "I'll never trust him more."

Nov. 9. Hay's enemies in Rome were active during his absence, and Cardinal Gualterio, in an affectionate note, urges him to return as soon as his essential affairs are concluded, his presence being not only important but necessary to his master; and the Bishop of Rochester strongly advised him, when he saw him at Brussels, to return to James's service as his chief minister, promising to do his best to make people appreciate him.

The Duke of Orleans had just given leave to the Duke of Ormonde to come very secretly to France, when the Dec. 2. news of Orleans' sudden death, in his fiftieth year, reached Rome; every one of James's correspondents regarding the event as of good augury to his cause. Atterbury urges him, if possible, to draw nearer England, and the Duc de Jan. 2. Saint-Simon, his staunchest friend at the French Court, writes that he hopes the French Government may before long open their eyes to the identity of their own interests with those of James III.

CHAPTER XI

A NEW scene opened with the new year; the death of the Regent and of Cardinal Dubois had removed the two chief supporters of the Anglo-French alliance, and the Duc de Bourbon, who succeeded Orleans as First Minister, was looked upon as opposed to George I., and willing to enter into negotiations with the Czar for the restoration of the Stuarts. He was also favourable to Philip V.'s right of succession to the throne of France, which were all signs of good augury for the Jacobite cause. But the first month of the year was not past, when the gloomy melancholy which possessed the Spanish king drove him to the solitudes of San Ildefonso, after resigning the crown to his son, Don Luis, Prince of Asturias, who was seventeen years of age. Sir Charles Wogan, in his graphic, energetic style, writing from Madrid on the 16th January, calls this renunciation:— 1724.

"Stuart Papers," Windsor.

> ". . . One of the most surprising events that [ever] appeared on the theatre of this world. A King of forty years, and in good health, abdicating freely his Kingdoms to become an hermit in a wilderness, with a wife of thirty-one, reserving for his society the Marquises of Grimaldo and Valouse . . . for the Queen's attendance the Princess of Robu and a Spanish lady, the family consisting of two camerists, two valets-de-chambre, and six footmen; for their guard only two halberdiers. . . . King Philip's abdication, without assembling the Cortes, . . . appears a difficulty in the act so far as to leave room for the opinion that he has it in his power to re-assume the crown, when the humour should take him."

However that might be, Philip V.'s renunciation closed the door to any present efforts to obtain his help, and all James's hopes centred upon Peter the Great and the Duc de Bourbon. John Hay had a long interview with Fleury, Bishop of Frejus, Louis XV.'s old tutor; the Dowager Duchesse de Bourbon, was in correspondence with James,

1724. and the Czar sent Prince Kurakin on a special mission to Paris. He was directed, as General Dillon informed James, to take all necessary steps, and to say everything
May 8. needful to the Duc de Bourbon to engage him to enter into his measures. Kurakin might assure him how much the Czar had the King's cause at heart, and that he was resolved to do all in his power to assert his right, provided he might reckon on the concurrence and assistance of France; and the envoy was further instructed to enter into all practical measures and to determine the proper time for their execution.

James had ordered General Dillon to observe the strictest secrecy, except towards Prince Kurakin and the Duc de Bourbon, respecting the Russian negotiations; to which Dillon replied that it was too late to keep them secret from the Duke of Mar and Lord Lansdowne, as they had known of them from the first by James's orders. Mar's knowledge, and the information from British spies at St Petersburgh, account for the energetic measures
Dec. 15. pushed on by the English Government to frustrate these designs; and it is not surprising to find, by the end of the year, James deploring to the Duke of Ormonde the strict union which had arisen between Muscovy, France, and the Elector of Hanover; but perhaps out of this very union jealousies may arise, of which they must be ready to take advantage.

Meanwhile the question of Colonel Hay's appointment as James's Secretary of State was being pressed by the Bishop of Rochester, who appreciated his worth as the only man fitted for the post, which James was willing enough to give him, "but his reluctancy to it is so great," he writes to Atterbury, "that I would not as yet lay my positive commands upon him, though I hope . . . the accounts I may receive from you will determine me to do so." These accounts came from the Bishop, after consultation with the Duke of Ormonde and the English Jacobites, who all expressed their acquiescence in the appointment. Lord Lansdowne had declined the post, pressed upon him after Mar's retirement, and the English Jacobites had failed to

make choice among themselves of a Secretary whom James would have accepted at their hands; so Hay's appointment had become, so to speak, inevitable. Hay, taking with him a Mr Ramsay as tutor for the little Prince Charles Edward, returned to Rome in January. He had earned, during his stay in Paris, the vehement hatred of the Duke of Mar for inquiring into his actions, and Mar, in a letter to James, calls him an "Inquisitor, reviver and publisher" of "obliterated false and scandalous stories." While Murray describes the Duke with greater truth as having begun his project of removing from James those who could best serve him:— 1724. Jan. 3.

> ". . . And his design was certainly to leave you no-one near you, whom he thought capable to oppose or discover his intrigues. I have at present no personal interest in this particular. . . . Mr Hay is the only one who remains, and if the many artifices used to draw him from Italy have not succeeded . . . I am sure you will impute it to his particular affection for you. . . ." Jan. 28.

The correspondence between the two brothers-in-law—Hay in Rome and Murray in Paris—while it does honour to the absolute honesty and fidelity of the writers, bears witness to the perplexities of the situation. Colonel Hay was perfectly aware that he would sacrifice repose, and, as far as enmity could destroy them, reputation and character, if he took upon himself the responsibility of an office which nothing but his loyal affection to his master could induce him to accept. Murray kept him informed of the Duke of Mar's doings:—

> ". . . using the same part towards you that he did to me some years ago, and were it not known that people in England will have nothing to do with him, he would no doubt pretend their authority, but now nothing that is known to come from him can do you hurt." March 3.

Hay was compared to Spencer and other mischievous favourites of history by the Duke of Mar and his associates; and Murray hardly dares advise him to accept a post which will need so much patience, while trusting that the King will make up his mind, if he puts him into that position, to support him in it.

1724. James had made up his mind; and Hay, after urging his own disqualifications, his ignorance of foreign affairs, and pleading to be allowed to do the work without the title, with a persistence which finally "made the King angry," accepted the post of Secretary, which was to be publicly declared, together with the bestowal of the Earldom of Inverness, as soon as Mrs Hay, who was going to England upon some family affairs, should return to Rome. James III. at the same time showed his appreciation of Murray by making him Earl of Dunbar.

Clementina's name had been brought into the matter, and Hay, who to the end was as loyal to her as to his master, writes to Murray:—

May 23. "It is a little hard upon the Queen that she should be the subject of people's resentments against others . . . and shows plainly that the Publisher of these things prefers his private resentment to the good of the King's service and the Queen's honour."

We see the character of Colonel Hay in another sentence: "Let Martel [Mar] say of me what he pleases, I shall never revenge myself, I despise that way of doing."

The Bishop of Rochester arrived in Paris in May, determined to unmask the Duke of Mar, and he did so to his own satisfaction and to the convincing of James III., who, to his honour be it spoken, only alluded to the subject of Mar's treachery after Dr Atterbury had expressed his surprise at not hearing from him:—

July 4. ". . . If I have not written you hitherto more fully and plainly as to the Duke of Mar, it did not, I assure you, proceed either from want of confidence in you, or from shame in owning that I have been egregiously imposed upon by him, but from a reluctancy I had (which I am sure you would not disapprove) of writing, as I may say, accusations against him, even to the best friend I have in the world. But as matters now stand, I find myself under the necessity for the good of the Cause to give you some lights once for all on those heads, of which I am sure you will make the most prudent use. . . ."

The Bishop, besides proving that Mar had sacrificed him by means of the famous letter, of which we have already made mention,[1] and that it had been written after

[1] See page 287.

several private conferences with Colonel Churchill, who had 1724.
been sent to Paris to collect evidence at the time of the Jacobite plot of 1722, bluntly declared that a certain memoir, handed to the Duke of Orleans a few days before the latter's death, would suffice for the arraigning of the Duke of Mar for high treason, if ever they all got home again. This memorial appears to have contained ostensibly a plan for the Restoration of the Stuarts, but upon conditions so derogatory to England that she would have become nothing more than a fief of France, and her king a vassal. Mar had presented it, through General Dillon, to the Duke of Orleans, before James knew of its existence, and his idea seems to have been to get the latter's consent to it, and then publish both the memorial and James's answer in England. Had James fallen into the snare, the loud and deserved indignation of the three kingdoms would have shown him that all hope for himself and his family was at an end. Happily he did not so much as acknowledge the receipt of what John Hay described as "a masterpiece and a ticklish snare," while he urged the June 13.
greatest caution upon the Bishop of Rochester in the use he should make of its contents, as the memoir "is a two-edged tool and cuts on all sides," and can only have been designed to ruin the King.

The Duke of Mar defended himself vehemently and incoherently, at one moment writing in humble terms that his heart is too full and his concern for his King and his country too great to be able to write fully; he does not admit having written the Memoir in question, at the same time expressing great anxiety that it should not be made public. In return to James's request that he would hand his commission and all papers in his possession to General Dillon, he replies that the papers are in a safe place, and that such a thing "has never been heard of as a commission being recalled." He continues to send accusations against Colonel Hay, and there are several letters, couched in terms which can only be described as insolent, in which he upbraids James for neglecting the Scotch exiles; he being at the moment employed, as Atterbury July 23.

1724. informed the King, in currying favour with the Clans, and doing his best to make them think themselves neglected.

Nothing at the same time more clearly proves the power of the man over those within reach of his personal influence, than the fact that Lansdowne and Dillon, both honest men, were unshaken in their belief in Mar. When all Paris knew of his false dealings; and the Duc de Bourbon, at his own table before a dozen people, declared it was not surprising that James III. was ill-served and his secrets betrayed, when the person chiefly in his confidence had a pension from England, both Lansdowne and Dillon wrote urgently on his behalf to James, the former going so far in his advocacy as to warn that Prince that the "title of Favourite," which is given to Hay, "is a dangerous title for a prudent man to aspire to, or for a wise Prince to allow."

They both requested that their communications to the King might not go further than himself alone; and it required James's strict and reiterated orders to make them understand that the Duke of Mar was no longer to be trusted in his affairs. As to their apprehensions of Colonel Hay, James writes to Dillon:—

July 3. ". . . I am much confirmed in my good opinion of him and in my resolution to employ him, by the many scurrilous letters the Duke of Mar has writ to me against him, since I plainly see by them how valuable a servant I have in Mr Hay, whose honesty has ever been above reproach or suspicion."

The English Government endeavoured to obtain the removal of the Bishop of Rochester from Paris; but these were no longer the days of Abbé Dubois, and no notice was taken of the demand, which James regarded as a good proof of Dr Atterbury's usefulness.

By what Colonel Hay refused to look upon as a coincidence, but rather as the fruit of the Duke of Mar's influence, which was considerable over the Earl of Kinnoull, Hay's brother, that nobleman chose this moment for taking the oath of allegiance to George I. Hay immediately consulted the Bishop of Rochester as to whether this sudden change in his brother, proceeding in all probability from a

"politick of Lord Mar's . . . who would make a sacrifice of one brother to be revenged of another," would not necessitate his own withdrawal from James' service; to which the Bishop sensibly replied that in spite of, or even because of, Lord Kinnoull's conduct, the King should give the Seals to Colonel Hay, to prove his complete trust in him. 1724. July 18.

Mindful of Stosch-Walton's recommendation to gain John Hay, the only man of ability about the Pretender, George I. appears to have held the following short conversation with Lord Kinnoull when he appeared at Court: "*Le Colonel Hay qui est à Rome auprès du Prétendent, est-il votre parent?*" "*Oui, Sire, il est mon frère.*" "*Ha, j'en suis bien aise, on dit qu'il est fort honneste homme, et il se conduit fort sagement.*"

At the same time Stosch was at work himself. Hay writes to the Bishop of Rochester:—

> "We have a famous spy here, a Prussian, who has actually a pension from the Elector of Hanover, and is protected by the Emperor's Minister in this country. I have been often surprised to hear that this fellow, in all sorts of company, loses no occasion of saying all the good he can of me . . . tho' I never spoke a word to him in my life. He went so far as to say to a person . . . who would repeat it to me, that the Elector of Hanover had the same opinion of me that he had, and I was the only person about the King the Elector would wish to have in his service. Add to this Lord Kinnoull's conduct and the sudden change he took, for he sent me £150. . . . I say all this makes me suspect a management of pretty old standing, and from whose advice it originally came."[1] Aug. 15.

Pope Innocent XIII., after only three years' pontificate, died in March, and two months later Cardinal Orsini was elected Pope under the name of Benedict XIII. He was a Dominican monk of irreproachable life, and zealous for the good discipline of the clergy. He knew nothing, and wished to know nothing, of politics, but his sense of right and justice constrained him, as one of his first acts, to meddle in foreign affairs by writing strong Apostolic letters to the Emperor, the King of France, the two Kings of

[1] It is interesting to find Stosch writing at this time that Colonel Hay is George I.'s worst enemy in Rome, and that he is moving heaven and earth to get Stosch turned out of the town, in spite of the Emperor's protection.—*Pub. Rec. Off.*, *Rome*, vol. xiv.

1724-5. Spain, "old and young," and the Duc de Bourbon, in James's favour, "which may do good," writes Hay to the Bishop of Rochester, "and can do no harm." The Pope's letter to Luis I. had not been many weeks in that young monarch's hands when he fell a victim to the universal scourge of the eighteenth century, small-pox; and King Philip, writing in his own hand to James to tell him of his son's death, announces his own resumption of the crown.

Mrs Hay left Rome for England, writing from Paris to Lord Kinnoull, who at once took the letter to Court, and when the Secretary of State[1] said he would send two messengers to meet her, all he asked was that she might be used as a gentlewoman. She was lodged in Newgate, with her own maid to attend her, and subsequently taken to Windsor and examined by the two Secretaries of State, and then by the Council. Fortunately she had no papers, and nothing could be proved against her. She was able to write to her husband from Newgate, begging him for God's sake to make himself easy, for being otherwise would do her no good :—

> ". . . You know I dont want courage. . . . I hope still to live to have the pleasure to see you, that supports me under all my misfortunes."

Nov. 7. Every effort was made by James and Cardinal Gualterio to obtain Mrs Hay's release, but the warmest letter of all was from Queen Clementina to the Duchess de Bourbon, begging her to help Mrs Hay through the French Ambassador in London as a matter of justice and charity "*et nullement de politique.*" She asks it as a personal favour to herself, "as the services and care of Mrs Hay will be a great consolation to me at my lying-in. I shall be eternally obliged to you." Although Colonel Hay expresses a fear to Dr Atterbury that the English Government may keep his wife, in the hope of making him leave the King, dearly as he loves her his duty goes first. Mrs Hay was released after two months' imprisonment. She spent some

[1] The Duke of Newcastle. Lord Carteret, suspected of Jacobitism, had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in April, and the Duke of Newcastle and Mr Pelham were made Secretary of State and Secretary of War. They were looked upon as creatures of Sir Robert Walpole

weeks in Paris, and reached Rome in time to attend Clementina at the birth of her second son on the 6th of March. Pope Benedict XIII. took them by surprise the same evening and christened the child himself, naming him Henry Benedict Thomas Marie Francis Xavier. Hay's appointment as Secretary of State and title of Earl of Inverness were at the same time publicly announced. 1725.

Death had been busy among the friends of James III. Lord Oxford, after a long and painful sickness, and Dr Sacheverell had died within a fortnight of each other,[1] and a more potent friend, the Czar Peter the Great, died in the first month of the new year. We are reminded of the slowness with which news travelled in those days when we find that this important event, happening on the 28th January, was not known in Rome until the 17th March. James described it as a terrible stroke, and in sending Admiral Gordon a letter of condolence to the new Empress Catherine I., bids him ask her to read his last letter to her husband, and she will see how easily she can restore him to the throne of England.[2]

Scarcely a month passed without some startling turn in European affairs. The peace between France and Spain had been cemented by a double contract of marriage between the boy-king Louis XV. and the child-daughter of Philip V., and between Don Carlos, son of the latter, and Mademoiselle de Beaujolais, daughter of the Regent Orleans. Louis XV. having attained the age of fifteen, it was decided, after many cabals, that the young Infanta, aged seven, who had been brought to France with great pomp by the Duc de Saint Simon before the Regent's death, should be returned to her own country and a more marriageable Princess chosen for the King. So Louis XV. found himself released from a bride eight years his junior, and united to Maria Leczinska, daughter of the dethroned King Stanislaus of Poland, who was six years his senior. The young Infanta was sent away on the 5th April, and on

[1] May 31st and June 15th, 1724.

[2] Admiral Gordon was of Scotch parentage, but born in Muscovy. He was in the Russian service, but a staunch adherent of the Stuarts.

1725. the 25th Louis XV. declared his marriage with Maria Leczinska, who arrived at Fontainebleau the following August. The rupture of the marriage with the little Infanta Maria Anna gave great umbrage in Spain; Sir Patrick Lawless, the Spanish special envoy in Paris, was recalled, and the Ambassador, Prince Monteleone, told to follow him; the Bishop of Rochester writing to James III. that the opportunity was great and should be laid hold of with all possible dispatch.

The Bishop was in a miserable state of health. His strict confinement in the Tower had sent him to Brussels a wreck, and he was now suffering terribly from gout and other painful maladies which, acting upon an irascible temper, wrought him to a state of furious irritability which made him well-nigh unapproachable. He quarrelled with James Murray, he scared Dillon and worried Colonel Daniel O'Bryan,[1] while his own gentleman, Ferguson, left his service because the Bishop's violent passions led him to say such things that no man of honour and honesty could bear. It was said he had given the lie to Lord Strafford and shaken his cane over Sir Henry Goring; but his fits of rage were followed by quick repentance, in which he embraced Murray and wrote:—

June 11. "... Pray persuade him not to magnify little differences. ... If I err in an expression, or even in an opinion, my Age, Infirmity, and Sufferings may be allowed to plead my excuse, and to cover it in silence. ..."

Dr Atterbury's friends made every allowance for his infirmity of temper, and the chief evil consequence was the habit of suspicion it engendered in himself, ever waxing greater until it embraced almost every person he had to deal with, from the King downwards. Meanwhile he was working with all possible industry and application in the Stuart cause. A Bill for disarming the Highlands was brought into the House of Lords, and he hoped it would be resisted in Scotland. At his suggestion James wrote

[1] Murray wrote to James: "I own I pity O'Bryan; it is not to be conceived what struggles he has had with him" [Atterbury].

thirty letters in his own hand to the chiefs of the clans, which he sent to the Bishop, together with bills for 180,000 *livres* to buy ammunition, biscuit, and brandy, and for the transport to Scotland of a number of officers whom he hoped to place under the command of General Rothe, who had been with the Duke of Ormonde in the abortive expedition of 1715. But Lochiel and Sir Walter Maclaine reported that it was too late: the fate of the clans would be decided before succours could reach them, as the English troops were already in Scotland.[1] 1725.

A more favourable prospect was opening elsewhere. The disgust conceived by Spain at the return of the little Infanta from France, led Philip V. to make up his differences with the Emperor by the Treaty of Vienna, which confirmed to each other "such Part of the Spanish Dominions as they are respectively possessed of, and form a Defensive Alliance." A treaty of commerce followed, which gave great umbrage to England and Holland, and occasioned the Treaty of Hanover—between England, France, and Russia—which was signed the following September, and described by George I., at the meeting of Parliament in January 1726, as designed to defend England against the effects of the Vienna treaty. These effects, according to the Jacobite hopes, included the restoration of the Stuarts; and the Duke of Wharton, who, after a stormy career in England, where he had been President of the Hell-fire Club, had returned with fervour to his allegiance to James III., started for Vienna with the approval of the Bishop of Rochester, to try and bring the Emperor to espouse James's cause. The Bishop writes of him:— May 10.

> ". . . He has all the talents required to dive into the intentions of those he deals with; and an extraordinary degree of application when he pleases, and is intent upon compassing a point. . . ." July 16.

The Duke was well received at Vienna, where he pretended to be travelling for pleasure. He described St Saphorin, the English Minister, to James as "a cunning

[1] General Wade disarmed the Highlands the following October.

1725-6. subtle fellow," a Swiss by birth, who had endeavoured to obstruct the peace between Austria and Spain by all possible arts. The Duke of Riperda is a furious Jacobite, and openly declared at Count Zinzendorf's table there was nothing left for the new Allies to effect but a restoration. James wrote to the Emperor recommending the Duke of Wharton to him, and the Papal Nuncio and Mr Sheridan did their best to moderate the ardour of the young Duke, lest he should be "imprudent in his cups," which was his greatest failing, and thus displease the Emperor, who had an aversion to people addicted to too much drinking. It was a vain endeavour, and the freedom of language the
Jan. 12. Duke used in his cups with regard to King George obliged the French and English Envoys, the Duc de Richelieu and St Saphorin, to tell him they could no longer see him, as he was the open enemy of the King of England. The Muscovite Ambassador, on the other hand, was very hearty with him, and Wharton describes him to James III. as "a nice man who gets drunk every day."

There were in fact great hopes of Russian intervention. The Bishop of Rochester gave a long memoir to Prince Kurakin, urging that part of the force destined for Norway might be detached for service in Scotland. The Empress Catherine sent kind messages to James, saying she well knew her late husband's regard for him; and it was hoped that to Admiral Gordon, who was in command of a squadron, might be allotted the congenial task of carrying a force into Scotland. The Admiral wrote that nothing would be wanting on the Czarine's part, if the Emperor of Austria would take the first step. At the same time came the ominous warning that Count Zinzendorf, the Emperor's first minister, was in the interest of Hanover.[1]

Dec. 15, 1725. James sent a scheme to the Duke of Wharton, to be laid before Prince Eugene, for landing troops from Ostend

[1] It was shortly before this time that Sir Robert Walpole declared to the House of Commons, in defence of the enormous expenditure of secret service money, that only the sums paid to foreign ministers and English agents abroad prevented the Pretender landing in England. Admiral Gordon's letters from St Petersburgh were opened and copied in transit by an English spy, a Captain Deane.—*Pub. Rec. Off. S.P. Foreign, St Petersburgh*, Sept. $\frac{18}{29}$.

near London with 20,000 stand of arms; while the Duke of Ormonde, with 4000 men from Spain, should land in the West of England; James himself to go with the Austrian troops, which would be not only of great moment for the success of the expedition, but a thing he "could not depart from in regard to his own honour." If the Emperor can spare Prince Eugene, James begs that he may command the expedition. 1725-6.

The Duke of Wharton had several interviews with Prince Eugene, who well remembered the state of parties in England during his own visit there, and asked many pertinent questions; and the Duke rejoiced at the near prospect of the Czarine, the Emperor, and the King of Spain uniting to bring about a restoration, which nothing would then be able to prevent. But if Count Zinzendorf, like his master before him, was in the receipt of English gold, it is not surprising to find evasive answers given by Charles VI. to the Papal Nuncio, suggestions from Zinzendorf that James should go to Padua, Venice, or Spain instead of to Vienna, and that at the Duke of Wharton's sudden, and perhaps not altogether voluntary departure, he took no conclusive answers with him to Rome. Nov. 27.

A recent writer has given a vivid picture of George I. and his surroundings:—

> "What can be said in defence of the Court of our first Hanoverian sovereign? How palliate its utter grossness, its ugliness, meanness, and avarice? . . . The English Court, if Court it could be called, had never sunk so low. The palace of St James's became a focus of shameless immorality and sordid corruption, and to it all was added the bitterness of a family feud. The father hated the son, and the son the father; the ministers hated the mistresses, and the mistresses the ministers. All was, in short, hatred, falsehood, and intrigue; the worst passions of human nature were fostered in this fœtid atmosphere. Such was the reign of the first George."[1]

It was the proud boast of the Jacobites to be able to point to their own royal family and exiled Court as the complete antithesis to the above sordid spectacle; and the desire to blur the fair picture of decent royalty presented by James's Court, had perhaps an equal share

[1] Wilkins, *Love of an Uncrowned Queen*, p. 427, edition of 1903.

1725-6. with the desire of removing John Hay, and with genuine alarm at the proceedings at Vienna, Madrid, and St Petersburgh, in prompting George I. and his ministers to pursue James III. into the last retrenchment of his domestic hearth. And it is strange to see Cardinal Alberoni, who had once swayed the destinies of Europe, condescending to act a chief part in this miserable palace-intrigue. Stosch-Walton's dispatches reveal that the suspicions of James and Inverness that the Cardinal was in the pay of England were well founded; and he had, moreover, a second and very strong motive, that of regaining the favour of the Queen of Spain (who was nothing if not a fervent religionist) by proving himself a *zelante*. James had appointed Murray governor to the five-year-old Prince of Wales, ordering him at the same time to take up his title of Earl of Dunbar; and he recalled Thomas Sheridan, an Irish Catholic of good birth and education, from Vienna, to be the child's sub-governor. Murray had accepted with great reluctancy, pointing out that his relationship of brother-in-law to Lord Inverness would give an appearance of the most important posts being confined to one family, which would be naturally disliked, and could not fail to add to the clamour and envy against Inverness himself. He had suggested the Earl of Winchelsea for the post, a man of the strictest honour, who had never taken the oaths to Hanover, who had neither wife nor child, and would probably be willing to settle his estate (which was not considerable) and come over.[1] But James did not know Lord Winchelsea, and he did know and trust James Murray, whose appointment was, moreover, highly commended by the Bishop of Rochester, so he persisted in his command, and Murray arrived in Rome in the autumn.

Pub. Rec. Off., S.P. Foreign, Rome, Vol. XIV.

Mrs Sheldon, the Prince's governess, whose influence upon Queen Clementina had been disastrous, at the same time received the intimation that her services would no longer be required, and that she would be sent back to St Germains. After one or two furious scenes with her husband, in which she venomously attacked Lord Inverness,

[1] Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelsea, died 10th October 1726.

and the appointment of Lord Dunbar as Governor to her son—which would endanger his religion—and threatening to retire into a convent unless they were both dismissed, Clementina actually took that extreme step on the 15th November, and entered the convent of St Cecilia, in Trastevere; Mrs Sheldon at the same time retiring to a convent in the Via Tor de Specchi. It was as if a bomb shell had exploded, echoing throughout Europe. Clementina wrote next day to the Pope and to Cardinal Paolucci, Secretary of State—all her letters were dictated by Alberoni, who visited her daily, and sometimes spent six hours in consultation with her—giving as the reason of her flight the appointment of a Protestant governor to her son. Unfortunately Benedict XIII. was no politician, and an intrigue which Clement XI. would have seen through and defeated in a moment, entirely deceived him. He insisted on Dunbar's removal, and no representations could soften him; he did not insist upon his dismissal from James's service or Court, but only from the post of governor to the Prince, which he termed "a scandal which must cease."[1]

1725-6.

Brit. Mus., "Gualterio Papers," 31, 267.

James III. had known many distresses, but perhaps none more poignant, or at the same time more bitterly laughable, than to find himself arraigned by his own wife, with the support of the sovereign Pontiff, as wanting in fidelity to the faith for which he had sacrificed three kingdoms. Ultimately the matter was explained to the Pope's satisfaction—that it was impossible, so long as there was hope of a Restoration, to give the appointment to any but a Protestant, and that Mr Sheridan, the under-governor and a devout Catholic, was alone responsible for the Prince's religious instruction, under the King's own supervision; and James took his little son to the Vatican, that the Pope might question him in his Catechism. The child acquitted himself perfectly, and the Pope said no more about Lord Dunbar. But arguments, commands, and prayers were of no avail against Clementina's wayward

[1] It is not surprising to find Stosch-Walton reporting these words of the Pope as referring to Lady Inverness, and they are so quoted in Mr Ewald's *Life of Prince Charles Edward.*

1725-6. naughtiness cloaked in religious zeal; and it is probable that she appreciated the part of champion and confessor, as well as she had formerly done that of a captive and a fugitive Princess.

The Pope sent two cardinals to ask her if she was jealous of *anybody*; but Clementina, from first to last, well aware of the innocence of Lady Inverness, never uttered a word against her reputation, though recklessly careless of the interpretation which would inevitably be put upon her own retirement, with regard to her husband's relations with that lady. Her one answer, repeated with parrot-like persist-
Feb. 26. ence, was, "*Je n'aime pas ces gens-là.*" She refused to see Cardinal Gualterio, and when her old friend Princess Piombino went to offer her good offices, she received her with complaints of a headache, and on a second visit, told her not to meddle with her affairs. To her husband she was more explicit, but no less intractable, writing to him from her convent to rail at Lord Inverness, asking him how he could expect a man to be faithful to his master who was unfaithful to God—"*fidèle à son maître, infidèle à Dieu*"—and declaring she would never come back as long as "*ces gens-là*" were in his service. James behaved very well; he excused his wife.—"This is the work of our enemies, who have misled the Queen to her ruin," is the theme of his letters to the Queen of Spain, who was Clementina's second cousin, to her uncle the Duke of Parma,[1] to the Bishop of Rochester and the Duke of Ormonde; while to his father-in-law, writing to inform him with the greatest sorrow that the Queen has left him, untouched by all he could do to deter her, and "by the pressing motives of honour, conscience and interest which have been urged upon her by persons distinguished by their rank and virtue," he concludes by begging Prince James Sobiesky to recall her to Ohlau, as "it is noways decent for her to remain in Rome" under the circumstances. His two letters to Clementina, written before her departure, are strong but reasonable:—

[1] The Dowager Empress of Austria, the Duchess of Parma, and Princess James Sobieska were daughters of the Duke of Neubourg.

"Your conduct towards me, the manner in which I have been threatened, and the public injury done me by your retirement into a convent, although I feel them as I ought, touch me less than the misfortune and the shame to which you will expose yourself by so strange an action. I feel no resentment against you, for I am every moment more convinced that the malice and cunning of our enemies have imposed upon your youth and the weakness of your sex . . . but it is not too late. . . . Return to reason, to duty, to yourself and to me, who await your submission with open arms, to restore you to peace and happiness as far as depends upon me." 1726.

In a second and longer letter James reminds his wife of his patience these two years past with her "pouting humours," of his love for her and her alone, and his desire to please her in all things, save only where his honour and the good of his affairs are concerned. As for Lord and Lady Inverness, neither the Queen nor anybody else had adduced a single fact to justify her unjust and extravagant notions regarding them. In order to please her, he had taken away, some time ago, the direction of the Household from Lord Inverness, and since that time

"his wife has never appear'd before you, but when you have asked for her. . . . In our present circumstances, I could not turn him out, without ruining my Interest and putting my affairs in the utmost confusion: and yet, tired and afflicted to see himself the perpetual mark of your unjust Anger, as he has so long been that of my enemies, he has often desired his discharge, and nothing but my positive Command could keep him near me. See, Madam, the difficulties to which you put me; and where is the honest man who, after such Scenes as you have shown the world, will dare to serve me? . . . I am surprised and troubled at your taking so important a resolution without communicating it to the Prince your Father; for I am persuaded he would have us'd his utmost endeavours to calm you, and hinder you from following the advice of those who are not afraid of sacrificing your reputation and repose to their own wicked views and personal considerations. . . ."[1]

The possibility that James III. might seriously be contemplating bringing up his eldest son as a Protestant, could not but invite marked attention in all the Courts of Europe; and Bishop Fleury, who had for some time been in secret correspondence with him, wrote to Cardinal

[1] A memorial was drawn up, containing copies of the two above letters, and sent to James's representatives in England and abroad. It was published in London—it was supposed by order of the Government—with a very scurrilous commentary reflecting upon James and Lady Inverness.

1726. Gualterio for an explanation of the matter. Gualterio's answer is an interesting vindication of the Jacobite king and his two faithful servants.—There seems no room for doubting that the Queen has been pushed on by pernicious counsels; and two of her ladies are accused as well as Cardinal Alberoni. From Gualterio's long intimacy with the royal family he can confidently say there has never been anything in the conduct of Lord Inverness which could offend the Queen, far less drive her to so extreme a step. As for Lord Dunbar, he is a very sensible man and greatly attached to the King, who appointed him governor to the Prince for two excellent reasons—to prove to the Protestants of England that, although he brought up his son a Catholic, it was without any animosity to them, and that in the event of a Restoration the governor might retain his post, which in the case of a Catholic would not be allowed by the laws of England. The sub-governor, the preceptor, and all the other members of the Prince's household are Catholics. As for the King, there is no room for alarm; he is not only firm but pious, and gives a good example in all things; he has publicly declared his intention to bring up his children as Catholics, and thank God, there can be no doubt of his sincerity.

Brit. Mus., "Gualterio Papers," Add. MS., 20, 322 (130).

Clementina, who greatly edified the nuns at St Cecilia by her humility and asceticism, and the long hours she spent in the chapel, was busy—under Cardinal Alberoni's dictation—sending her account of the rupture to the Queen of Spain, to the King of France, the Duke of Ormonde, and the Bishop of Rochester, while every post carried her letters to St Germains. To her sister, the Duchess of Bouillon, she wrote:—

> ". . . Mr Hay and his lady are the cause that I am retired into a Convent . . . all the civilities I have shown them have only served to render them the more insolent . . . I would rather suffer death than live in the King's palace with persons that have no religion, honour, nor conscience, and who, not content with having been the authors of so fatal a separation between the King and me, are continually teasing him to part with his best friends and most faithful subjects. . . ."

The affair was managed with considerable skill;[1]—to the

[1] Letters found after Clementina's death proved the complicity of Cardinal Alberoni.

Pope and to the Queen of Spain it was presented entirely as a religious question, turning solely upon Lord Dunbar; while to the Protestant Jacobites abroad, as we see in the above letter, which was published in the newspapers, he was never mentioned, and the whole blame was cast upon Lord and Lady Inverness, not only for causing the rupture, but also for the dismissal of Mar and Dillon from the conduct of affairs. Clementina trenched even further upon political ground—in answer to a memoir from the Paris Jacobites, sent by General Dillon, urging her to return to the King—by declaring that she could conceive of no motive either of reason, honour, or interest which could hinder him from dismissing "*ces gens-là*, after having taken his affairs out of your hands, and those of the Lords of good repute who managed them before." On another occasion she defended her attitude by declaring that Inverness and Dunbar were obnoxious to the King's friends in England. In fact, under the guidance of the same man, Clementina Sobieska was following the example of Elizabeth Farnese in taking up a political line of her own; with the vital difference that the Queen of Spain exerted her influence—which was, moreover, that of a Queen *in esse*—through an entire abnegation to the whims of her half-crazy husband, while Clementina acted in open defiance of James III.

1726.

Nov. 13.

While declaring to the Bishop of Rochester that the Queen appeared to be bewitched, and that he would not purchase even his Restoration at the price of being his wife's slave, though always ready to forgive her, James carried conciliation as far as possible by offering to replace Lord Dunbar by the Duke of Ormonde as his son's governor, and that Lady Inverness should leave the house until recalled by the Queen. And when, in the month of September, he determined to go to Bologna, he wrote to invite her to go with him.[1] He received the dry reply that he knew the reasons of her retreat, and so long as those reasons subsisted she would remain in it. He had apparently appealed to her conscience, for she adds that her

[1] The two little Princes were taken to Bologna under the care of Lady Nithsdale.

1726. conscience is satisfied, and that she is enjoying more peace of mind than during the last six years. The letter ends with the pious wish that Heaven may pour its choicest blessings upon him; and that he may recognise, before her death, that her attachment to him "has always been perfect and sincere." On the eve of starting for Bologna, James made a last effort by going to the Convent of St Cecilia. His wife bent her knee before him; he raised her in his arms, and led her into the parlour, where their conference lasted half an hour. "We had the mortification," writes Lord Inverness to the Bishop of Rochester, "to see the King return alone. I pray God forgive the Queen's advisers."

The news of the rupture had been received with rejoicing by James' enemies; Horatio Walpole, the English Ambassador in Paris, openly applauding Clementina, and the Duke of Mar's observations upon the separation and upon Lord Inverness, being described by the loyal Jacobites as villainous; while the Duke of Newcastle himself wrote to inform Stosch that he had sent his report to King George at Hanover—the only occasion on which he did so. James' friends, on the other hand, were in consternation; as Owen O'Rourke wrote from Lorraine:—

> ". . . All Europe thought his Majesty happy in a wife, and so many excellent things spoak aloud in favour of the Queen, that his friends thought to have as much reason to rejoice as his enemies to repine at so happy a union, and it will be a great surprise on all mankind to see this cloud suddenly spread over so virtuous a couple, who, being happy in nothing else, were thought happy in one another. . . ."

The same cry came from Scotland and from England, giving proof of how highly the reputation of Clementina's charm and virtues had exalted her; and presently hints began to arrive at Palazzo Muti that the services of no Secretary of State, however able, could counterbalance the disadvantages of so anomalous a situation; and Lord Southesk one day put a paper into James's hand, begging him to call a council of his most faithful servants, to see what could be done to bring peace into his family—"such a

course ought to be highly agreeable to his Ministers (if they be such as they ought)." 1726.

Clementina was, in fact, through her relationship with the great sovereigns of Europe, by no means a *négligeable* quantity; the first cousin of the Emperor, the second cousin of the Queen of Spain, the near relation of the new Queen of France had claims of blood, which might at any moment serve as a motive for the intervention of those three Powers. The Bishop of Rochester, however, stood firm; he advised Lord Inverness to make every effort to bring about a reconciliation:—

> ". . . but built upon this bottom, that your Lordship's attendance on ye King's business was indispensably necessary, and that all schemes, which supposed the contrary, were destructive to his affairs, and not to be listened to. . . ." March 25.

Lord Inverness's situation was most painful, and nothing but James' strict command, and his own knowledge that his immediate retirement would be of the greatest injury to his master's service, kept him in it until, as he wrote to Dr Atterbury, the King's friends could find another man to succeed him. The moment was indeed a critical one; the English Government had sent Sir Charles Wager with a squadron into the Baltic, to assist the Danes and Swedes against the Russians; he was the bearer of a letter from George I. to the Czarina, demanding the reasons of her sea armament, and suggesting that she was in correspondence with the Pretender. The Empress laughed, and answered that King George had sent his fleet into the Baltic, rather to disturb the peace of the North than to preserve it. At the same time Admiral Hosier, with another squadron, was sent to America to prevent the Spanish galleons coming to Europe, a task in which he failed; and the Spanish Court demanded an explanation from Colonel Stanhope, the English Ambassador, as to His Britannic Majesty's intentions in sending yet another squadron upon their own coast. Salmon, Vol. II. p. 166.

Meanwhile the Duc de Riperda, the Spanish Prime Minister, fell suddenly under the displeasure of Philip V., and fled for refuge to the house of Colonel Stanhope,

1726-7. whence he was taken by force and lodged in the Castle of Segovia, the Spanish Court deciding that the right of sanctuary did not cover the case. The reasons of Riperda's fall, which caused the greatest surprise all over Europe, were kept secret; but as three important letters written to him by James III., on the question of Clementina's retirement and his hopes of Spanish intervention, found their way at once into the Duke of Newcastle's hands, similar proceedings with regard to his own Court, had probably come to the knowledge of Philip V.

Brit. Mus., "Newcastle Papers," Add. MSS., 32, 685 (53, 55, 56).

When Parliament met in January, George I. announced that an alliance had been concluded between Austria and Spain; and that the placing the Pretender on the British throne was one of the secret articles between them; that Russia would have been concerned in the invasion but for the British fleet in the Baltic; and that Spain had demanded the restitution of Gibraltar, and the recall of the squadrons in the Mediterranean and the West Indies, as the condition of any further correspondence between the two crowns.

King George had reliable information that the principal design was the invasion of England, and demanded money and troops for the defence of the country. These, after some criticism from the Opposition, were granted to the amount of over one million sterling for the year, and 40,000 land-forces with 12,000 mercenary Hessians. As a matter of fact, George I. had promised to restore Gibraltar to the crown of Spain; a copy of his letter to Philip V., dated June 1st, 1721, is among the Windsor Stuart Papers; and Lord Mahon gives a full account, in his History, of Lord Stanhope's acquiescence in the project until convinced by the furious opposition it evoked in England, that it would bring his master to ruin, and his own head to the scaffold.[1] The question had now once more become acute, and Spain laid siege to Gibraltar in the month of February 1727.

The Queen of Spain had written a passionate letter to James III. on the subject of Clementina and religion, and,

[1] Lord Stanhope to Destouches, French agent in London.—Wiesener's *Le Regent, l'Abbé Dubois et les Anglais.*

on the Duke of Wharton's return from Vienna to Rome, James, after making him a Knight of the Garter, sent him to Madrid to set the matter in its true light; and to urge Philip V. to form a triple alliance with France and Austria, to restore him to the throne. Before leaving Rome, the Duke of Wharton wrote an interesting letter to the Bishop of Rochester about the King:— 1726-7.

"The personal knowledge which the few days I have been here has given me of the King affords me the greatest joy and comfort. Should we ever be so blest as to see him placed on the throne of his native country, he is formed to make England happy and glorious, and, on the other hand, if I should be so unfortunate, as others have been before me, to fall in any attempt for his service, I shall undergo my fate with pleasure when I consider I suffer in the cause of a Prince who, to his own undoubted Hereditary right, adds all the title which the highest degree of merit can give. The Prince of Wales is one of the finest children I ever saw, and daily improves in body and mind by the care and assiduity of his present Governor." Feb. 27, 1726.

He goes on to say that the Queen's conduct was condemned by the Emperor and his ministers. "Had she succeeded on this head [the dismissal of Inverness] every negotiation which is now in embryo would have fallen to the ground."[1]

The Duke found the King and Queen of Spain inflexible on the point of religion; and they expressed the opinion that Clementina ought to be satisfied in every particular, Lord Inverness removed, and Wharton himself appointed to the post; to which he promptly made answer that for all his love and duty to the King, he would not accept a post from which he could be removed "at the caprice of the Queen, or the malice of one of her maids." April 13.

Colonel Stanhope did his best to persuade Wharton to return to his allegiance to King George; and upon his failure to obey a Privy Seal order to return to England, he was attainted and deprived of his estates. He retaliated by an eloquent open letter to the Ministry,

[1] To elude Stosch's spies, important visitors went masked, and at night, to the Palazzo Muti. Stosch, nevertheless, discovered that the Dukes of Wharton and Beaufort had thus visited the Pretender, and that the first had remained six days in the Palace.

1726-7. and wrote another to his sister, Lady Jane Holt, which was printed and widely circulated:—

> ". . . I shall not wonder if, at first, you should be afflicted . . . at the warmth of the proceedings against me. . . . But . . . consider that my real Honour does not depend on Walpole or his Master's pleasure: that a Faction may attaint a man without corrupting his blood, and that an Estate seized for a time . . . is not irrevocably lost. The word *Late* is now become the most *Honourable* epithet of the Peerage . . . a mark dignified by the Duke of Ormonde, Earl Marischal, and others. . . . No, my dear Sister, . . . this unjust prosecution is a lasting monument to the honour of our Family. . . . If it should end with me, it would have outlived the liberties of England. Those Honours which we received at first from the Crown, can never be more gloriously interred than in defence of the injured rights of the Crown. . . ."

Thus impoverished, the Duke of Wharton suddenly fell in love with a pretty penniless Irish girl in the Queen of Spain's service, Mistress O'Beirne; and, in announcing his marriage to the King, further states that he had become a Catholic.

Desperate efforts were made to discredit James III. in every way; Cardinal Alberoni did not scruple to show copies of pretended letters from the Queen of Spain to James, upbraiding him for his "unhappy conduct to his wife," which it afterwards transpired had been written by Alberoni himself;[1] and an equally impudent fabrication was promulgated in Paris that James had written to his late mother's confessor, Père Gaillard, that the day of his Restoration would be the most unhappy day of his life! The letters of the English agents in Paris and Florence at the time James removed to Bologna, reflect the anxiety of the Court of England; and among the Coxe Papers, addressed to Sir Robert Walpole is a "Curious project for seizing the Pretender," by inviting him to come incognito to some place in Flanders where he might be "removed"; which would enable Walpole to say that "he knew of no passion but the love he bore his country . . . and that he has ravished his country from the brink of Destruction."

Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 9129, Vol. LII. (179).

[1] These letters were first given as authentic by Stosch, who, a few weeks later, wrote to the English Government that they were proved to be spurious. Mr Ewald, in his *Life of Prince Charles Edward*, gives the first statement, but does not allude to the correction.

At the end of 1726 Bishop Atterbury wrote of the surprising change in the attitude of the Triumvirate [Mar, Lansdowne, and Dillon], who now blamed the Queen, and said she ought to return to her duty; and Cardinal Alberoni, much to Stosch's perplexity, was adopting a similar attitude in Rome. The Duke of Liria, when announcing that the King of Spain was sending him as ambassador to Muscovy, declared it as his chief hope that he might be of service to King James. 1726-7.

Meanwhile renewed efforts were made to bring Clementina to reason; Cardinal after Cardinal made unavailing visits to the convent of St Cecilia, the Pope himself spent half an hour in private conference with her; and the King and Queen of Spain, who had come to the conclusion that her rebellion had lasted long enough—and who offered their mediation to James, who accepted it—sent Cardinal Bentivoglio, their ambassador in Rome, with letters to her, which she at first refused to open. Lord Inverness, at the same time, persuaded his master to accept his resignation and to summon Mr John Graeme—on whom James bestowed a baronetcy—from Vienna as Secretary of State, replacing him by Colonel O'Rourke, the Jacobite agent in Lorraine. In a letter whose measured language cannot conceal the pain and mortification with which it was penned, James wrote to Father Clerk, the King of Spain's confessor:—

1727.
March 24.

"... A step so contrary to my honour and interest cannot but give me a just concern, and yet the case is so extraordinary, that I did not think fitt to interpose my absolute authority to prevent it; I see both the origin and consequences of it in all their extent. ... In such an extremity it is silence and then actions that must speak. ... This is all I shall say on this melancholy subject, leaving you to your own reflexions on the matter, and they will, I doubt not, be such as become a faithful and zealous subject. ..."

With greater sadness still, while informing Cardinal Gualterio that he can no longer oppose Lord Inverness's resolution, he says he cannot describe the pain of finding that a faithful subject, who has relinquished country and estate for his service, can be thus dragged away, "*arraché*,"

1727. from his post, and "forced to sacrifice even his honour for what he considers the good of my family. . . . God forgive those who have placed me in such a situation . . . and give me light and strength to guide myself in it, and to escape from it."

Lord Inverness, in his manly and straightforward letters to the Bishop of Rochester, the Duke of Ormonde, and Sir John Graeme, letters which breathe the uttermost devotion to his King, declares that to be given as the cause of disunion in the Royal Family is a burden too heavy to bear, though he is still ignorant of the reasons of the Queen's displeasure. The mortification of leaving the best of masters will be easy to him if a speedy and solid reunion takes place. He is leaving Bologna for Pisa with his family.

James wrote a letter to be circulated among his friends in England, "as a mark of the King's confidence in Lord Inverness . . . upon whose fidelity he can depend wherever he may be." At the same time he wrote to the
April 21. Bishop of Rochester that when Cardinal Bentivoglio informed the Queen of Inverness's resignation, she replied, "That was a great point, but not all."

The Duke of Liria arrived at Bologna on his way to St Petersburgh, and spent several days at James's Court. Finding that, in spite of Lord Inverness's departure, Clementina had not joined her husband, the Duke wrote her a strong letter in the name of their Catholic Majesties, repeating the very words of the Queen of Spain—that it was time so disagreeable an affair should come to an end, which was doing infinite harm to her own interests and those of the King, not only in England, but in all the Courts of Europe, whence they could expect succours in the present conjuncture.

The conjuncture was already less favourable; the English Court had induced Sweden, at the price of a pension of £50,000 a year, to come into the treaty of Hanover; and on the 30th May preliminary articles for a general pacification were signed at Paris, to be followed within four months by a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, the

news of which was sent to James III., with "unspeakable griefe" by Sir Henry Goring. 1727.

The triumph of Hanover over Stuart seemed now complete. George I. had chased his rival from Lorraine to Avignon, from Avignon to Rome; he had separated the son from his mother, the husband from his wife, and the man from his best friend and most faithful servant. The triumph was complete, but it was brief. George I. landed in Holland on his way to Hanover on the 17th of June. It was his first visit since the death of his unhappy wife, Sophia Dorothea of Zell, in her damp prison of Ahlen.[1] Her one trusty servant awaited the King on the German frontier, and thrust into his hand the message traced by the dying hand of his wife, summoning him to meet her before the Judgment-Seat of God. Then, as if pursued by the furies, came the headlong journey of the stricken man—"to Osnabrück, to Osnabrück!"—and there he died ere midnight, as if impelled to hasten, without delay, to keep that awful tryst.

The Bishop of Rochester sent the news of George I.'s death, which reached Paris on the 26th, by a special messenger to James, advising him to lose no time in drawing nearer to England. Summoning Lord Inverness from Pisa, and taking Sir John Graeme with him, James left Bologna at once, under the pretence of meeting the Queen, who, after the Duke of Liria's urgent letter; and, it was said, a hint from the ecclesiastical authorities that further resistance on her part might result in her being deprived of the Sacraments, had announced her intention of returning to him. James's departure was well concealed, and he arrived at Frouard, near Nancy, in Lorraine, in the middle of July. There he remained incognito for three weeks, and had a secret interview with the Duke of Lorraine; who wrote to him a few days later that, his presence having become known in Paris and London, he must entreat him

[1] George's severity pursued his wife even after death. He ordered that she should be buried in the garden of Ahlen, but the place was little better than a swamp, and when three attempts had been made to dig a grave which would not instantly fill with water, she was perforce buried in consecrated ground.

1727. Aug. 9. to lose no time in leaving his States. James sent the gist of the letter to the Bishop of Rochester, telling him at the same time that he was starting next day for Avignon. The Duke of Liria and O'Rourke at Vienna, and O'Brian in Paris, had done their utmost, but without success, to obtain leave for him to remain in Lorraine or in French Flanders. Prince Eugene said he could conceive no hopes of that journey, and the Emperor returned no answer to the Duke of Liria's representations; O'Brian sent word that Cardinal Fleury had shaken his head over every paragraph of James's memoir, and had then said that he believed the King of Spain had really intended a Restoration, but the Emperor had never seriously entered into the design. As for England, the Tories had all gone to Court since the accession of the new King. George II.'s accession had, in fact, passed in perfect tranquillity, and Lord Orrery wrote to James that he thought it better the Tories should go in a body to Court than detach themselves one by one, as they seemed inclined to do.[1] George II. kept his father's ministers in office, Sir Robert Walpole obtaining the forgiveness of past misunderstandings by getting the House of Commons to resolve, that the entire Revenues of the Civil List (which produced £130,000 a year above the yearly sum of £700,000 granted to George I.) should be settled upon the new monarch for life, and an additional £100,000 a year upon the Queen, his consort.

James arrived at Avignon on the 19th of August; Lord Inverness remained there several weeks, and then insisted upon retiring to Pisa. His master's concern at losing his faithful servant was not lessened by the secret information he had lately received from the Emperor and the King of Spain—whose private esteem for him is not to be measured by their public acts—that Sir John Graeme was not faithful to him, and had been gained by Hanover. Both the Duke of Liria and the Duke of Ormonde, in conveying these messages, gave it as their opinion that they had their

[1] Mr Cæsar wrote to beg James, "in the warmest manner," not to come to England without a foreign force; every part of the kingdom is full of troops, and he would be exposed to the utmost danger.

original source "in malice and envy"; but as Lockhart of Carnwath wrote from Scotland about the same time, that the English Government had lately been given James's cypher, it was impossible to disregard the triple warning; and, reluctant as James was to doubt the honesty of a man who had always appeared to serve him faithfully, he determined to send Graeme to Spain on some harmless errand, which would deprive him of any opportunity of injuring his affairs. 1727. Oct. 11.

Clementina had meanwhile arrived at the Villa Allamandina, her husband's country seat near Bologna, where she found her children, and from whence she sent short but very affectionate and submissive letters to the King, full of her desire to be with him again and to please him in all things "(as far as possible)," and signing herself invariably "Your very humble, very obedient, and ever faithful Wife"; assurances which she belied by bringing Mrs Sheldon, against James's express command, with her to Bologna, a thing generally disapproved of by the Jacobites, even by those most attached to her. Under the smart of so many proofs of the malice of those he calls "his own wife's Hanoverian Council," James III.'s long-tried patience momentarily gave way; and he wrote to his old friend Cardinal Gualterio, that though he hoped, by the help of God, never to commit a wrong action,

> ". . . yet outraged and distressed as I am, I cannot answer for myself that I may not finally take some violent step to release myself from the infamous tyranny of a wife who, in her return to my family, has shown, if possible, a stronger spirit of rebellion than by her flight into a convent, and who knows how to cover her true dispositions to the public by the finest dissimulation and hypocrisy. . . ." Aug. 19.

James' stay at Avignon was strongly opposed by the English Government, who threatened to send a squadron to Civita Vecchia if the Pope did not order him to leave, while reminding Benedict XIII. of the reason he had "to manage" George II. for the sake of the Catholics in England, "who at present enjoy great tranquillity." Mr Robinson, the English representative in Paris, sent Count Launoy, one of his spies, who had been employed in the Brit. Mus., "Coxe Papers,' 9129 (185).

1727. same capacity by Cardinal Dubois in Rome, to Avignon "to watch all the Pretender's steps and behaviour." Cardinal Fleury was very uneasy, as the Pope declared that the Treaty of 1717 no way regarded him; that James had not left Avignon then at the instance of the Court of Rome; and that it would be very extraordinary if that Court were to take any steps for removing him now. "I find the Cardinal is apprehensive," writes Robinson to the Duke of Newcastle, "that the Pope is of such a temper that he may continue firm and stubborn."

Brit. Mus., "Coxe Papers," 9129 (187).

While showing a firm front to France, Benedict XIII. sent word privately to James by Cardinal Gualterio that it would be an agreeable thing to everybody concerned, and better in the end for his own interests, if he would leave Avignon spontaneously. After some demur, under the impression that Cardinal Fleury's opposition was more simulated than real, and after having even written to his wife to join him at Avignon—which she declined to do—James finally, after a hint from Fleury that his pension from France might be stopped, returned to Bologna on the 9th January, where Clementina, who had sent Mrs Sheldon into a convent a few days before his arrival, received him, after a separation which had lasted more than two years, so calmly, that he wrote next day to Lord Inverness:—

1727-8. Jan. 18.

> ". . . I have some hopes that matters may be made up in a right way at last betwixt the Queen and me; I have behaved myself with more *disinvoltura* on this occasion than I really thought I was capable of, and I have already settled in a friendly manner with the Queen, by giving her and taking to myself an entire liberty. She leads a most retired, melancholy life, and though I have encouraged her to alter it, I dont believe she will, but that's her own business, and I shall not constrain her."

Lord Dunbar wrote to Colonel O'Bryan a few days later that he could not express his joy at seeing "the greatest harmony in the world between their Majesties . . . please convey this good news to the Bishop of Rochester."

The Carnival was brilliant at Bologna, and James went to the balls, sometimes taking little Prince Charles with him; but nothing would induce Clementina to accompany

her husband to ball or theatre. She lived in the greatest seclusion, refusing all company, refusing to go out except to church, where she spent long hours on her knees; in fact, carrying on in her husband's palace the ascetic life of prayer and fasting to which she had become accustomed in the Convent of St Cecilia. James, who, when writing to the Duke of Parma on his marriage, expressed the hope he might be happy and never *essuyer les peines* some persons found in that state of life, cherished the vain hope that by patience, prudence, and kindness on his part, his wife would in time relax from her attitude of hostility towards Lord Inverness, and even propose his recall.

1727-8.

March 1.

CHAPTER XII

1728. THE Empress Catherine was dead—in her thirty-ninth year—before the Duke of Liria reached St Petersburgh, and the young Czar Peter II., though only twelve years old, was going fast to ruin. The Duke did not meet with the reception he expected, and pressed his Court to recall him, while still hoping that some turn in affairs might give him the opportunity of promoting James's service. "It is not very comforting to your Majesty," he wrote, "but I think I am obliged to tell you the truth."

Meanwhile the eyes of Europe were turned to Soissons, which had been substituted for Aix-la-Chapelle as the meeting-place of the Congress of Peace which met in June. An attempt was to be made to obtain payment of the vast arrears of Queen Mary of Modena's appanage, which had been granted by the Treaties of Ryswick and Utrecht, and James sent Father O'Challaghan secretly to Soissons to watch his interests. The drafts of James's Protestation, modelled by the Bishop of Rochester, and the heads of his Manifesto are among the Stuart Papers.

Philip V.'s claim before the Conference was the retrocession of Gibraltar and Port Mahon to Spain, in which he had the support of Austria and the fervent good wishes of the Jacobites; but when the Plenipotentiaries of the two countries told Cardinal Fleury that the restoration of those places, or war, must be the consequence of the Congress, he replied that, if that were the proposition, Colonel Stanhope and Horatio Walpole, the English Plenipotentiaries, would leave at once.

In England the non-juring Tories had gone in a body to Court, but as that act of submission had not been rewarded by any share in the sweets or emoluments of office, and George II. proved to be as great a Whig as his father,

they soon relapsed into an angry Jacobitism; which so filled with hope the sanguine Bishop of Rochester that, when James made excursions to Venice for the Carnival, and to Parma to introduce his eldest son to his great-aunt, the Dowager Duchess, he wrote applauding those short excursions, "so that when opportunity arrived for a longer one, it might be the less noticed." On the other hand, Dr Atterbury strongly deprecated a return to Rome.[1] He described it with some truth as— 1728-9.

> ". . . The Place that your most determined Enemies wish to see you fixed in, and have to their utmost allways endeavor'd to drive you to; and they were never thought to misunderstand their own interest, or to mistake in the measures that were opposed to Yours. Nothing made them more uneasy than your retiring from thence . . . and they never ceased solliciting your return . . . and will triumph now in your going back to Rome . . . and look upon it as no slight support to them in their tottering circumstances. . . . They look upon it as the consequence of ill-advice, or the effects of Despair." March 26.

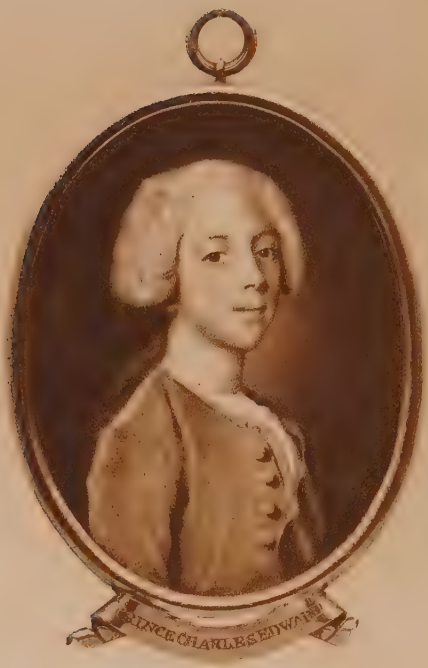
One of James's oldest friends and wisest counsellors, Cardinal Gualterio, died in April 1728, and Cardinal Davia was appointed to succeed him as protector of the English. James informed him that he had no Secretary of State, the most useful and most faithful of his servants having yielded to "violent and unjust persecution" and refusing to return to him, so the Cardinal must address all his letters on political matters directly to himself. Relations between James and his wife remained, in fact, on a footing of armed neutrality; Inverness's name was never mentioned, nor those of the Duke of Mar, Cardinal Alberoni, or Mrs Sheldon; the Queen made no allusion to the fact that her husband had met Inverness at Parma, but hardly had he returned to Bologna than he received a letter from Cardinal Imperiali at Rome, reminding him that one of the terms upon which the Queen had returned to him was that Lord Inverness should not again be "*à porté* of giving him advice." She appeared to be ready to make a second retreat to a convent, a prospect which her husband seems to

[1] Dr Atterbury lost his only daughter, Mrs Morrice, at Toulouse the following November. He called her one of the two motives which could make England agreeable to him, the other being James's restoration.

1728-9. have regarded with equanimity, but which Lord Inverness so much deprecated, that he resolved to retire to Avignon as soon as he could do so without giving offence to the King; who, in spite of Clementina's obstinacy, persisted in the hope that she might be brought to a more reasonable frame of mind, especially as he maintained throughout that he had understood her return to him to have been unconditional. She had announced that she was expecting another child, a fact which was duly made public, and Prince James Sobiesky was invited to be god-father, the event being expected in November 1728; her supposed condition imposed great reserve upon her husband in his efforts for the recall of Inverness, one of her fixed ideas being that he had designed to poison her; and in her narrow and "*insuperabile*" obstinacy, she would probably have met the suggestion that the want of a Secretary of State was injurious to her husband's affairs and threw too great a burden upon him, with the reply that he could recall "those Lords of good repute" who had served him before. She did not know that at that very time the Duke of Mar, throwing away all further disguise, presented a petition to George II. in Council for a pardon, which was granted to him, but with the proviso that he should not return to England.

"Weston Underwood Papers," Hist. MSS. Com., Vol. XII. p. 242.

The Queen's cabal in Rome was as strong as ever, and wild rumours were set afloat tending to represent her as a saintly victim, ill-used by her husband; and when, within a few weeks of the expected time of her delivery, it transpired that her hopes had been fallacious, the rumour was spread that the sight of Lady Inverness in the street at Bologna had brought on a "*fausse-couche.*" The same mistaken hopes occurred the following year; and impaired health and insufficient nourishment no doubt made her the easy prey to the delusions and animosities, which her husband's enemies suggested and encouraged. James, writing to Colonel O'Bryan in November 1729 that it was found the Queen was not with child, added, "The life she leads does not give much hope of her having many more children." At the same time, it became so evident that she would take some



Prince Charles Edward.

violent step in the event of Lord Inverness's return, "her extravagance on that particular being so manifest, so fixt, and so great," that the matter had to be dropped. 1728-9. Nov. 8-29.

In his distressful home life James III. found comfort in his children. .The eldest, now in his tenth year, was full of life and promise, already something of a sportsman—the shooting of his first hare, when at Parma, being duly recorded by his father, who writes to Lord Inverness from Albano: "My children give me a great dale of comfort, I am really in love with the little Duke, for he is the finest child can be seen." The same letter affords us a glimpse into the inner life of the man: he desires—

"Above all a good stock of patience and tranquillity, which I hope God will give me grace to acquire, *à propos* of which I am sure you would be pleased with a Treatise I am now reading of 'Conformity to the Will of God,' which is one of the finest things I ever read on the subject. It is the last Treatise of the first part of Father Rodriguez' works, which are mightily esteemed, and you cant fail finding of them in Tuscany." Oct. 1.

The Duke of Wharton came to Italy in the hope of filling Lord Inverness's vacant post; but his drinking habits had so increased, that in his cups it could never be known whether he would toast King James or King George, and no secret was safe with him. He had even written to Horatio Walpole, June 28, 1728, throwing himself upon his protection. James saw him privately, and persuaded him to return to Spain after settling some of his affairs in Normandy—a solution which greatly relieved the Duke of Liria, who regarded him "as a sad dangerous man." With his young wife, Wharton lived for a time in great poverty at Rouen, where he wrote and published a paper on English affairs, which Sir Henry Goring described to O'Bryan as the severest satire he had ever read.[1] He then returned to Spain, where Philip V., at James's request, made him colonel of a regiment at Lerida. He wrote to the King:— "Weston Underwood Papers," Hist. MSS. Com., Vol. XII. p. 240.

"... I bless Almighty God that I am as easy upon the Parade of Lerida as ever I was in a higher state ... and those Persons must have lost Aug. 10.

[1] In the month of April 1729, for having served in the Spanish army before Gibraltar, the Duke was proclaimed a traitor.

1729. their Reasons who repine at Poverty, whilst your Majesty and the Royal Family are doom'd to exile, to the reproach of the Present age, and the scandal of Futurity. . . . ."

The great question before Europe was that of Gibraltar and Port Mahon; strong feeling having been aroused in England by the production in Parliament of George I.'s famous letter to Philip V. promising their restitution. Some of James's Parliamentary friends opposed the restitution in the hope of rendering any accommodation between England and Spain impossible; they promised at the same time, in case James was restored by the Emperor and the King of Spain, that they would not only enable him to resign Gibraltar and Port Mahon, but to perform whatever else might be stipulated between him and Austria and Spain.

May 14.

It was expected that Philip V. would be inflexible on a point in which his honour was engaged, but Elizabeth Farnese had other plans. The Duc de Riperda had "escaped" from the Castle of Segovia and "fled" into England at the end of 1728, where he had been very privately taken to Windsor for one or two secret interviews with George II., with the ultimate result that a treaty was concluded at Seville, 9th November 1729, between Great Britain, France, and Spain, one of the chief articles of which stipulated that Spanish garrisons to the number of 6000 men should be introduced into Leghorn, Parma, and Piacenza, "for securing the immediate succession of Don Carlos," Elizabeth's eldest son, on the death of the reigning Dukes of Tuscany and Parma—Medici and Farnese. Abbé Inese describes the impression in Paris:—

"Weston Underwood Papers," p. 241.

Nov. 28. ". . . The Queen's power and importunity have gott the better of the King's inclination and common-sense, contrary both to the interest and honour of Spaine, which has gott her the hatred of that wholl nation; and after all she may yet misse of what she mainly aims at. France and England may indeed transport Don Carlos into Italy, but no man of sense can think that their guarantee can secure him in possession of the two Dutchies if the Emperor should stand out, and I do not hear he is yet come in to their new project. . . ."

As soon as the Emperor heard of the treaty he went to

church, where he remained some time, and then to his Council, after which a large body of troops was ordered to be in readiness to march. James describes him to Lord Inverness as a man of honour and sincerity, who would be a true friend if he became one at all, "whereas I look upon the Queen of Spain as a dangerous friend and a weak enemy . . . her friendship is little to be coveted and her enmity little to be feared. But her husband, poor man, is I am sure to be pitied. . . ." 1729-30. Jan. 13.

O'Rourke did his best with Prince Eugene, but he regretfully writes at last that nothing is to be done with the Austrian Court; "the greatest orator in England will not engage them to stepp out of their own cautious maxims. . . ." Nevertheless, while things once again looked hopeful in England, Colonel Cecil reporting that the House of Hanover "was never yet held in such contempt by the people, and expressed with more boldness than at any time since they have been among us," the prospect that Austria and England must inevitably fall out over the treaty of Seville, prompted James to write to the Duke of Ormonde that he hoped they might soon meet "in a more agreeable place and situation," while Inverness, who was never very sanguine, wrote to James Edgar from Pisa, "perhaps ye King's restoration may be near."

The young Czar, Peter II., died of small-pox, in the third year of his reign and the fifteenth of his age, on the 29th January, and was succeeded by the Princess Anne, the widowed Duchess of Courland, niece of Peter the Great.[1] She had once been thought of as a bride for James III., who now wrote to congratulate her on her accession, telling her she was doubtless aware of her uncle's sentiments in favour of the justice of his cause; and as she had inherited the virtues of Peter the Great as well as his Empire, James dared to flatter himself that she would be no less well-disposed towards him. Through the Duke of Liria, he recommended all his subjects in her service to her favour and protection.

[1] She was the second daughter of Ivan, elder brother of Peter the Great. Her husband died within a year of their marriage.

1730. Pope Benedict XIII. died 21st February; the manner in which he had at first espoused Clementina's cause in the matter of the Protestant governor to the royal children, to the extent of allotting her 4000 *scudi* a year out of the pension he gave her husband, had been one of James's motives for removing to Bologna in 1726; but since his return to Rome, the former kindly relations between them had revived. After a conclave which lasted more than four months, Cardinal Corsini was elected Pope under the title of Clement XII. He was seventy-eight years old. James had little personal acquaintance with him, but was satisfied with the choice, and hoped there would be fewer *tracasseries* in relation to religious matters—Benedict XIII. had made great difficulties about the Church of England services for the Protestant Jacobites—and he further hoped that the new Pontiff would help him in the matter of the return of Lord Inverness. Inverness himself deprecated troubling the Pope so soon after his accession; but while James was preparing a Memoir on the subject, Clementina forestalled him by endeavouring, through the Cardinals of her party, to prevent the Pope from stirring in the matter. But Clement XII.'s notions upon a wife's duty to her husband were stricter than those of Benedict XIII., as his ideas were larger upon the policy of a Catholic monarch towards his Protestant subjects; and he sent his nephew,
Sept. 9. Monsignor Corsini, to the Palazzo Muti—James and his children being at Albano—to let Clementina know that His Holiness was sensible of the wrongs done to her husband during the late Pontificate, and was desirous to repair them; hoping that the Queen would make no further opposition to the return of Lord Inverness, it being just and reasonable that the King should be master in his own family. Clementina replied that she would be glad to explain herself to the Pope on that subject. Monsignor Corsini continuing his discourse, she said again that she would explain herself to the Pope; and upon the Prelate telling her that if he was disagreeable to her, the Pope would be willing to make use of another channel, she assured him he was agreeable to her, and then repeated the same words a

third time, sending him away discomfited and somewhat piqued—"not the less my friend," remarked James to Inverness, in sending him an account of the proceedings, "for the reception the Queen made him." 1730.

The Pope had let the three Cardinals of the Queen's party, Alberoni, Imperiali,[1] and Corradini, know that he was resolved to see the matter ended, and that they would do well to give the Queen good advice; so, after many arguments and pleadings, in which the affair was unavailingly presented to the Pope as one of religion only, Clementina asked for an audience; and after some general complaints of Lord Inverness concluded that she could not charge her conscience with bringing another Protestant about her husband's Court and about his children, but if the Pope would charge his conscience with it and lay commands upon her, she would submit. Clement XII. replied that he would not charge his conscience with anything nor command anything; but that it was his opinion and advice, that she should submit to her husband. Oct. 6.

For more than two months Clementina made no sign, nor said any word to her husband on the subject; while writing short and affectionate but, under the circumstances, exasperatingly submissive, pious, and obedient notes to him at Albano, until we cannot wonder at his writing to Lord Inverness:—

> ". . . To make you return here by authority would completely answer all my ends, did they not extend out of Italy, but as they do, that step in other respects would manifestly be subject to great inconveniences. To live with the Queen, in the dispositions and in the hands she is in, is what I am not satisfyed that either my conscience or my interest obliges me to, and you will easily imagine what a life I shall lead with her after this. . . . But then where to find the prudent way and manner of separating . . . ? On t'other side, to continue as I am . . . is plainly submitting not so much to the caprices of a woman, as to the Dominion my enemies have got over her, and remaining exposed to all the past hardships and calumnies . . . which the present success will naturally increase. I must confess I am astonished to see with what *disinvoltura* the Queen carrys to me, ffor

[1] Stosch writes of Cardinal Imperiali as being one of his friends and protectors.—*Pub. Rec. Off. S.P. Foreign, Rome*, vol. xvi., 21st Dec. 1726.

1730. neither Thursday, when I was in Rome the day after her audience, nor never since this Pontificat she has said anything to me of this affair.

"After this, it is also fit you should know that I look upon her to be in a very ill state of health. . . . I am confident she wants nothing to put her to rights but her altering her way of living, of which I hear the Pope spoke to her t'other day, but hitherto neither Doctors nor Confessor have prevailed, and if they dont, she cannot probably resist it many months. . . ."

The difficulties of the situation were suddenly solved by Clementina herself; who, one day in December, informed her husband she had been told he had a mind to speak to her, that he was master to do that as much as he pleased, and that she had put down her sentiments in a short note, which James forwarded to Lord Inverness, and which unfortunately has disappeared from the Stuart Papers. A long and friendly conversation ensued, in which she declared she had no hatred for Lord Inverness, and would have no difficulty in behaving towards him and his lady with all courtesy. "So, thank God, this affair is well ended," writes James to Lord Inverness, ordering him to Rome as soon as possible, and if Lady Inverness cannot travel on account of the weather—it was the 22nd December—she can follow later.

Clementina did nothing by halves; her surrender was as complete and unconditional as her rebellion had been stubborn, and for the remainder of her life her union with her husband was unclouded by difference or dissension.

The Emperor of Austria had responded to the Treaty of Seville by sending such forces of foot and horse into Italy, and seemed so well prepared to prevent the Spaniards taking possession of Tuscany and Parma, that the embarkation of the troops from Spain was postponed for a year; while in England, the resignation of Lord Townshend was described by the Bishop of Rochester as even more encouraging than the ferment, running very high, against the Court and Ministry throughout the country.

Dr Atterbury had the satisfaction, before the end of the year, of sending James a letter by the Duchess of Buckingham who, under the pretext of taking her

delicate son, the young Duke, to a warmer climate, had obtained permission from the English Court to go to Rome. This eccentric lady, daughter of James II. and Catherine Sedley, and widow of Edward, Duke of Buckingham,[1] was as wealthy as she was eccentric, a devoted adherent of the Stuart cause, and involved in all the intrigues of the Opposition. She came charged by Mr William Pulteney, Walpole's ablest and bitterest foe, chief of the discontented Whigs and Jacobites, united under the title of "The Patriots,"[2] by Vice-Admiral Lord Berkeley and several other Whig Lords, to ask James for a signed declaration to maintain and protect the Church of England, and for various favours for themselves. In return, they promised to act vigorously on his behalf in the event of a descent into England, without, however, specifying any certain arrangements beforehand, which would entail too great a risk. 1730.

Dr Atterbury was fervent in the Duchess's praise:—

> ". . . No one has greater worth or talents, is more in the esteem and confidence of your friends at home, or more deserves to be so. . . . Zeal for your cause carrys her to Rome. . . . Matters ripen apace, and the Opportunity seems to be near, which, if rightly layd hold on and push'd, may open a way to your Restoration." Oct. 16.

Thomas Carte, who had refused the Deanery of Windsor, wrote at the same time of the state of affairs:—

> ". . . Never was any government so much despised . . . never was party more divided than that which has hitherto laboured to support it. . . . The body of the people are as much affectionate to yr Majesty's cause, and as open in the declaration of their affection, as ever. . . ."

The Duchess of Buckingham, who, during her stay in Paris, had daily interviews with the Duke of Berwick as well as with the Bishop of Rochester, arrived in Rome in the month of January, preceded by another letter from Dr Atterbury, who described her as possessed of a capacity rarely to be found in her sex:—

[1] See page 125.

[2] Copies of Pulteney's paper *The Craftsman*, were constantly sent to James at Rome.

1730-1. Oct. 30.

"An excellent understanding, great Prudence. . . . Her Honour, Dexterity and Good Sense are perfectly confided in by all that know her: and those are the Chiefest and Best of your Subjects. In short, Sir, there is no confidence which may not safely be made to her; no Transaction to which she is not equall . . . What I say, I perfectly know to be true. . . ."

The Duchess of Buckingham and Mr Arbuthnot were in Rome when Lord Inverness arrived there a few days later; and in less than a fortnight they had so persuaded him that his return would be unfavourably regarded in England, that he wrote the following letter to Colonel O'Bryan:—

Jan. 17.

". . . Since my arrival I have learned that my situation in the minds of several of the King's friends in England is such that even my remaining in Rome would be prejudicial to the King's interests, that I am even believed to be capable of betraying him; upon that, I have obtained His Majesty's permission to retire into France, so that, if I can do nothing to advance his interests, I may be out of the way of injuring them; His Majesty has been so good as to consent, and I leave in a few days for Pisa, where I shall await the season for travelling into France.

"The Queen received me with goodness, and I flatter myself that henceforward their Majesties will live in perfect accord. I am very well satisfied with my journey to Rome, which has served to enlighten me as to many things. . . ."

Lord Dunbar, who had lately heard of many reports against himself from England, also placed his resignation in James's hands, who positively refused to accept it. The reasons of the English Jacobite antipathy to Inverness do not very clearly appear. The fact that his brother, Lord Kinnoull, was actually English Ambassador at Constantinople, his old connection with the Duke of Mar, the fact of his Scotch nationality, seem to have been the chief motives—adroitly fostered by the jealousy of his personal enemies—of so gross a misapprehension of his character and conduct. Before his wife reached Rome, he rejoined her at Pisa, and in the following April they setttled at Avignon.

Clementina behaved perfectly; no shade of triumph appeared in her, and her letter to Lady Inverness, in which she assured her of her "*protection et bon cœur*,"

was answered with much gratitude and affection by that lady. James himself, in the accounts he sent to the Duke of Ormonde and to Paris of the affair, was careful always positively to declare that the Queen had had nothing to do with it. Ormonde, while pointing out that there were several reasons, besides the pension he received from the King of Spain, to prevent him from accepting James's offer of Inverness's vacant post, gave the latter a high character as doing him "nothing but justice." The Duke of Berwick—who had lately departed from his attitude of coolness towards James, and had sent him offers of service through the Duchess of Buckingham—agreed with Cardinal Fleury in telling O'Bryan that he believed Inverness's departure, and that Dunbar's might follow at any moment, were but a new snare laid by the King's enemies, ending by declaring, "I own I always had a very good opinion of Milords Inverness and Dunbar." Abbé Inese, in sorrowfully commenting upon the situation, reminded James that there had been heretofore "the same kind of Cry against every Minister that either the late King of blessed Memory or Your Majesty has ever employed in your affairs since the Revolution. . . . I dare say the greatest enemy my Lord Inverness hath will never be able to produce any fact in particular upon which he cannot fully justify himself. . . ." The fact was not without significance that Inverness's departure was known in Paris, through the Duke of Mar's agent, before James's own letter reached Colonel O'Bryan.

1731.

Feb. 18.

Prince Eugene had told O'Rourke that in case of a general war the restoration of James would be feasible; though he expressed the opinion that from what he remembered of the different parties in England, there was not a man capable of placing himself at the head of a combined movement in his favour. The Duke of Parma's death in January and the immediate seizure of the town by the Imperialist troops, though they refrained from further action on the assurance that the Duchess was with child, opened possibilities which were considerably strengthened by what was called in France the "faithlessness" of England in objecting to a war against the Emperor being

1731. carried on either in Flanders or on the Rhine, "which would naturally throw Flanders, and perhaps Part of Germany into the Hands of the French, by which that Monarchy would again become terrible to Europe." M. Dangervilliers, the French Minister of War, was in constant communication with General Dillon, who had made plans of a military expedition into England for the consideration of the French Court. Dillon at the same time assured the Bishop of Rochester that he had had no intercourse with the Duke of Mar for the last eight months; but although James felt convinced of his honesty, Dillon's association with Lord Mar prevented the acceptance of his proposals.

Salmon, Vol. II., p. 235.

Meanwhile, the fact that the Duchess of Buckingham was constantly at the Palazzo Muti having been communicated to the English Court by Stosch, a Privy Seal warrant was sent to her ordering her to come back to England. James, at her request, appointed her Lady of the Bed-Chamber to the Queen, and promised the Garter to her son, both appointments to be kept secret until the proper time. He gave her a letter for Cardinal Fleury, informing him that he believed Lord Orrery was going to France to concert his restoration with the Cardinal. He enjoins extreme caution, while declaring that the Duchess, who has his entire confidence and whose prudence and zeal may be relied on, will enlighten Fleury on the state of his affairs. The letter ends with a warning that Sir Robert Walpole, for his own purposes, may feign a desire to enter into negotiations, but is not to be trusted. He will seek —

May 8.

> ". . . To penetrate our designs and make our projects miscarry. I cannot but have a very bad opinion of M. Walpole. . . . In two words, I beg of you, if you have undertaken my Restoration, to confide in as few persons as possible . . . The Duke of Ormonde may be trusted as soon as things are ripe. . . ."

In a letter to Lord Orrery, James says he cannot get it out of his head, that Walpole will lay a trap for them by pretending secret sympathy.

Among the other letters confided to the Duchess of Buckingham was one for the Bishop of Rochester, promising to make him Archbishop of Canterbury as soon as it

will be in James's power to do so after his restoration. Another was an open letter for England,—All officers in the Army and Navy to retain their commissions, except in what regards the Duke of Ormonde's Generalship. As for religion, he and his children are Catholics, and there is no use pretending they will change; but after all the promises he has made in favour of the Church of England, his Protestant subjects have nothing to fear for the security of their Church—"or would they have the Royal Family be the only persons in England constrained in point of religion?" He does not wish to make a previous treaty with France, "but if Troops cannot be had without, it is better to have both than neither." Double pay for a year may be promised to all common soldiers who will join his standard. 1731.

The Duchess of Buckingham, charged with all James's secrets, went back to England, and walked straight into the toils of Sir Robert Walpole. By simulating, as James's instinct had feared, a secret sympathy, Walpole gained the enthusiastic and foolish lady's entire confidence; and a secret correspondence, couched in a jargon almost impossible to understand, was at once established between them, in the character of two Quakers, or sometimes as if engaged in an amorous intrigue.[1] Walpole, for the remainder of his long administration, thus obtained the key to all the Stuart plans, enabling him to earn the title of being the great champion of the Protestant Establishment, and the man who fixed the House of Brunswick on the throne. The Duchess of Buckingham, who, indeed, little deserved the character for prudence, dexterity, and good sense given her so positively on a slight acquaintance by the Bishop

[1] We give a specimen of one of Walpole's letters to the Duchess of Buckingham:—

". . . If friends love taking the air, and can travel ten miles, there is in a certain park a solitary Thatched House, of late wholly unfrequented, designed by art and nature for privacy; and there is nearer to Town, a little Garden, with some curiosities in it, which strangers very commonly come to see . . . but it may happen that the Master of the House may accidentally stumble in their way, unobserved by any of the family. . . ."

(In another hand, like Sir Robert Walpole's):—"The hand that writes this knows not to whom it is addressed."

1731. Sept. 9.

of Rochester, was not alone cajoled and deceived. Colonel Cecil, who, after the death of Lord Orrery,[1] became the chief Jacobite agent in England, fell into the same snare; a man of weak judgment, illiterate, and in many respects unqualified for so delicate a commission, though honest, staunch, and a man of honour, he yet betrayed his master by suffering himself to be duped into the belief that Sir Robert had formed the design to restore the House of Stuart. From that time forward, in spite of James's warnings; in addition to traitors in the camp and spies without, the Jacobites may truly be said to have worked under the watchful eye and the direct supervision of the Prime Minister of England, giving him an incalculable advantage, at home as well as abroad, in unravelling their schemes and paralysing their every effort, defeating them, in the words of Dr King, "without noise or expense."

Brit. Mus., "Coxe Papers," Add. MSS. 9129 (108). Memoirs of Dr King.

> "All our national misfortunes" [says the same writer], "since the accession of the House of Brunswick must be chiefly ascribed to Walpole's administration. He unhinged all the principles and morals of our people, and changed the Government into a system of corruption. He openly ridiculed virtue and merit, and promoted no man . . . who had scruples of conscience, or refused implicitly to obey his commands."

James made a short tour to Naples and Gaëta at the end of May, in the strictest incognito. He wrote to his wife from Naples that he was well in health, "but the weakness in my stomach is a great *imbroglio* to me in point of standing and walking, without which one cannot see anything"; and to Lord Inverness he writes more plainly:—

1731-2. May 22.

> ". . . Though I am not sick, it has been more pain than pleasure, for I can scarce go upstairs at all. . . . I hope to grow a little stronger at last, at least for common occurrences . . . but for much fatigue I am affrayed I shall never be able to bear it, and the truth is, one motive for my making this journey was to see how far my stomach would go. But enough of my infirmities."

In view of the probability of a sudden call to undertake an arduous, secret and speedy journey, the prospect was not reassuring; and James, now in his forty-third year, was already falling into the precarious health which was to be

[1] Charles Boyle, fourth Earl of Orrery, died 1731.

his portion for the rest of his life. The letters between the husband and wife during this short separation show how entire was their reconciliation :— 1731-2.

"*Caro mio*, . . . I can think of nothing but the satisfaction I shall feel when I shall see *Caro mio* again." And James ends an English letter: "*Addio, cara mia, je suis tout à vous.*"

The Duke of Wharton, whose brilliant talents, under happier circumstances, would have added lustre to his own name and to the Stuart cause, ended his chequered career very penitently in a monastery near Barcelona, leaving his young wife in great poverty, which James relieved until she was able to obtain the enjoyment of her jointure. Death was busy among James's adherents: Lord Orrery's death in September was succeeded by that of Dr Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, in the following February, "one of the greatest men that ever England bred," in the opinion of all the Tories and many of the Whigs. Chief champion of the Stuart cause, he died in the exile which was awarded to his steady and unflinching adherence to the principles of legitimacy, and of loyalty to what he considered the best interests of his country and the Church of which he was the ornament.

June 11.

Salmon, Vol. II. p. 259.

The King of Spain insisting upon keeping the Duke of Ormonde at Madrid, in view of possible contingencies, Lord Marischal, who since his return from Scotland in 1719 had lived in Spain with a pension from Philip V., was summoned by James to fill the hazardous post of Secretary of State. Marischal was too notable a figure to be suffered to hold that position long; and his retirement was dexterously brought about by Zechie Hamilton, the non-juring clergyman, who had succeeded Dr Barclay (dismissed as being a creature of the Duke of Mar's) as chaplain to James's Protestant followers at Rome, and who was secretly in the pay of the English Government. Marischal, who, like the Duke of Ormonde, was more faithful and brave than intelligent or statesmanlike, succumbed at once; and, at Hamilton's instigation, wrote to James that unless he might communicate all that passed

1731-2. Aug. 20. between his Majesty and himself to the Duke of Ormonde and the Bishop of Rochester (who was then still alive), he must beg not to be made acquainted with any such secrets. As for Lord Inverness, those who opposed his recall were not James's enemies, but his well-wishers. "Your confidence in him and in the few who are his friends has done great prejudice to your affairs, and made many of the most considerable of your party conceal even from your Majesty what they wished to do in your service." The letter ends with the formal request to be allowed to write whatever he thinks fit, without restraint, to the Duke of Ormonde and to the Bishop, without submitting the letters to the King. The services of so independent a secretary would have been of more hurt than assistance, and James, in sending a summary of the correspondence to the Duchess of Buckingham, says that though convinced of Lord Marischal's honesty, he cannot make him Secretary of State with such sentiments:—"As for Zechie [Hamilton], his conduct now passes all bounds." After this experience, James made no more appointments to the office; and James Edgar, too unobtrusive to excite jealousies or questions, continued to write his letters without name or title, and we read without surprise the conclusion of one of the King's letters to Lord Inverness:—"One must have very little reason, as well as Religion, not to despise this world, when one knows it as well as I do."

When Parliament met in January, George II. congratulated the country upon the tranquillity of Europe and the happy execution of the treaty of Seville; to which the Opposition or "Dissentients" replied that although Don Carlos had been established in the Succession of Tuscany, and in possession of Parma and Piacenza, and Spanish troops introduced into Italy; they wished their introduction might not prove the origin of new troubles; and "we had begun to bully France as much as we had courted her" by treating with the Emperor without the concurrence of our French allies, contrary to the treaty of Hanover; while, on the other hand, the new works at Dunkerque had not been demolished.

These causes of friction so much inclined Cardinal Fleury towards a Stuart Restoration that we find O'Bryan's letters full of his negotiations with the French Ministers, especially with M. de Chauvelin, *Garde des Sceaux*, who assured him that if the King's friends in England would do what was asked of them, he would faithfully fulfil all he had promised, provided the strictest secrecy was kept, "for if the English Ministry get to know of the thing, I warn you I shall do nothing more. . . . Let the Duke of Ormonde hold himself in readiness. . . ." In a paper of instructions from James to Colonel Cecil and Captain Hardy, "only to be shown to Lord Strafford and Lord Arran," he gives the strictest orders as to secrecy—in France no one but O'Bryan knows, in Spain the Duke of Ormonde, while he can answer for the secret in Rome. He owns that he is afraid of Walpole :— 1731-2. Jan. 20.

> ". . . He will employ all his emissaries and may be even capable of pretending to be a friend, to penetrate by those means into our negotiations. . . . A man of his character is never to be trusted, nor to have it in his power to betray." Jan. 23.

From first to last James III. warned his friends—we know with how little effect—to beware of the English Prime Minister. His fears were shared by M. de Chauvelin, who insisted that neither Walpole nor Mr Robinson, the English Ambassador in Paris, should be trusted. How far matters had gone we find by a letter from James to the Duke of Ormonde :—

1732.

> ". . . The Court of France being resolved to undertake my Restoration if they can be satisfyed on some particulars relative to the reception of the Troops they propose to send . . . if the secret is kept I shall hope for the best, if it is not, I shall fear the worst. . . . One lucky circumstance for the secret is . . . that nobody has any notion of Cardinal Fleury having spirit enough to undertake so great a work. . . . Your motions and mine must depend entirely on the French Court. I shall make the best of my way to meet you with all the despatch that I am able, for tho' my health is, thank God, much better than it was, yet I am not so able to fatigue as I was some years ago." Jan. 30.

The particulars upon which the French Court wished to be satisfied were just the points which the English

1732. Jacobites, as had been the case ever since the Revolution, wished to leave undetermined, until a French force with James III. or the Duke of Ormonde at its head should be actually landed in England. The letter Captain Hardy brought back from England in response to the French enquiries was received by M. de Chauvelin with the remark "this is only a repetition of what we have heard before, and it is not what he promised us." The Jacobite agents continued to represent how opportune was the moment, Parliament being prorogued on the 17th May and George II. leaving for Hanover on the 21st. 1000 copies of James's Declaration for England and Scotland and his letters to the Fleet, the Army, the City, and the Universities were ordered to be printed, to be carried over by the Duke of Ormonde, who had arrived at Avignon from Spain, and who wrote to Colonel O'Bryan, "I wish the Elector a good journey, and no return."

James also sent particular directions about the firearms and broadswords to be sent to Scotland when Lord Marischal, Lochiel, and Sir Hector Maclaine were to embark :—

May 20.

> ". . . And it will be of the greatest consequence that the Troops when landed should observe the most exact discipline. . . . As for my leaving this, that must depend on the day fixt for the Duke of Ormonde . . . in all cases the rule should be that the alarm of my having left Rome does not reach England before the time it may be supposed the Troops may land."[1]

When tidings of the hesitation of his English friends to declare themselves to the French Court reached James, it caused him little surprise.—"Our friends are so jealous of one another," he wrote to the Duke of Ormonde, "and so afraid of declaring themselves to anybody before the troops

June 9.

[1] Baron Stosch, who had been often threatened by individual Jacobites that they would "break his bones," notwithstanding the protection of Austria, was frightened away by a simulated attack by masked men armed, who surrounded his carriage one night at the end of January 1731 and threatened him with death if he did not quit Rome within 24 hours. He fled to Florence where he continued to send minute accounts, furnished by his spies, of James's every movement. The repairing of James's travelling chaise about this time was duly recorded to the English Government.

land, that I despair of inducing a number of them to speak their mind freely." He still hoped that the bulk of the nation would rise the moment the troops landed. He could understand the attitude of the French Government, and his friends in England were distracted with lies and jealousies of all kinds, and though they have his cause sincerely at heart,— 1732.

> ". . . yet I believe there are few who are absolutely disinterested, and who have not much at heart also their own fortunes and preservation. . . . I certainly do distinguish Pulteney . . . from the bulk of those who have not been publicly reputed my well-wishers, I look upon him to be a man of superior genius, and of uncommon principles of honor and love for his country. I do not indeed believe he is without ambition, and I believe he is persuaded that it can never be so much satisfyed as by my Restoration . . ." June 9.

There were many influences at work, under the occult guidance of Sir Robert Walpole. The French Ambassador in London, M. de Chavigny, was the intimate friend of Bolingbroke, and his reports to his own Court were coloured accordingly. Lord Bolingbroke and his party were busy, and the divisions and different views and systems, as M. de Chauvelin complained to O'Bryan, made it dangerous to attempt an expedition, which he finally declared would only be undertaken if such "a complete and regular plan was formed in England, as would convince the French Ministers it would not miscarry." This resolution was communicated to James by Colonel O'Bryan and Captain Hardy "with the greatest grief and mortification" they had ever felt in their lives. July 6.

The Duchess of Buckingham had gone to Paris to press the French Court to undertake the expedition; and she wrote volumes of despatches to James III., often so obscure and confused as hardly to be intelligible. In answering her to the effect that the attitude of the French Ministers was only natural in presence of the jealousies and differences among his friends at home, James alludes to the health of his wife, which can never improve so long as she continues her manner of life "which neither the Pope nor anybody else can prevail on her to alter. I am sorry for it for her

1732. sake as well as my own, but otherwise, I thank God, we live very easily together . . . "

There is a pretty little letter from Clementina to her husband during one of his absences at Albano :—

Nov. 3. "*Caro mio*, although I have nothing to tell you, I cannot refrain from making my *inchino*[1] to you by letter as I cannot do so *in persona*; while awaiting that happiness do not forget her who is *di cuore tutta vostra*. . . ."

James's two sons, according to the evidence of both friends and foes, were singularly attractive and pleasing. Stosch frequently laments the great attention paid to them by English travellers of all parties, describing Charles in particular as the idol of his father's followers, full of life and hardihood, possessed of sense beyond his years, of a very different temper from his father, and likely to be much more popular than James had ever been. Those who knew the young Prince more intimately, while admiring his qualities, noticed his defects. Lord Dunbar writes to Lord Inverness :—

1733. Jan. 10. ". . . The Prince grows tall and strong and, as I believe, the most beautiful figure this day in the World, but to be ingenuous with you, it is impossible to get him to apply to any study as he ought to do, or indeed in any tollerable degree, by which means the Latin goes ill on, but he speaks both French and Italian easily. The Duke keeps up in every degree to what I have formerly writ on his subject, and has all the lovely and great qualities that the most passionate of his friends could possibly desire in him. Their Royal Highnesses were at a Ball given them by Count Bolognetti . . . I never in my life saw anything comparable to the beauty and grace with which the Prince appeared that evening, and there were some English Whigs who could not conceal their emotion[2] . . ."

James himself, writing a few months later in reply to some remark of Lord Inverness's, says :—

[1] Obeisance.

[2] A few years later we have Whig testimony from Mr Samuel Crisp, who, while writing disdainfully of the Pretender, can hardly find words to describe his two sons, when he saw them at a ball at Prince Colonna's, in their rich habits and white silk hats with diamond loops and buttons :—"They are two as fine youths as ever I saw, particularly the youngest, who has more Beauty and Dignity in him than any one can form to one's self an Idea ; he danced miraculously, as they say he does all his exercises, singing, as I am told most sweetly and accompanying himself, and is, in short, the admiration of Everybody."—*Samuel Crisp to Rev. Mr Shute of Chipping Norton.*

Henry Benedict, Duke of York.

"... There is no question of crushing the Prince's spirit, and no danger of its being crushed, for he is mighty thoughtless and takes nothing much to heart; but I hope he will soon begin to think a little, and then with the natural parts God Almighty has given him, and the pains that are taken about him I hope he will be good for something at last. ..." 1733. Aug. 12.

One of the chief differences among the English Jacobites, as Cardinal Fleury pointed out to James III., was the openly expressed preference of a large section for the Prince of Wales, especially if there was a hope of his being bred a Protestant. James declared at once that there was no fear of his bringing up his son as a Protestant; and to the suggestion of the French Ministers, that it would be well to send him to Switzerland or Avignon under the Duke of Ormonde's care, replied that his education could not be properly carried on at either place, but he would gladly send him into France under Cardinal Fleury's own care, under pretence of his education; "it would draw many English to see him, and make a great *éclat* in England." But the French Court was not prepared to take so open a step; and the matter fell through, James observing to O'Bryan that it was plain Bolingbroke and his party preferred the Prince to himself, and were the former in Switzerland "they might get hold of him and turn him their own way."

On the 11th February Frederick Augustus, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, died; and, as had been the case with James II. some forty years previously, James's name was proposed as a candidate for the Polish Crown; his father-in-law, Prince James Sobiesky, offered to cede his own pretensions in his favour, but James's answer was the same as his father's had been. He wrote to O'Rourke at Vienna:—

"... My birth gives me greater and different views, and I should think I failed to my country and my subjects, did I pursue any measures which should put me at a greater distance and make me less able to provide for their happiness by my Restoration; were the Duke [of York] a dozen years older, he might be a Pretender to that Crown with some hopes of success. ..." May 7.

This answer, which reveals James III.'s estimate of his own position, and that of those whom he regarded to the

1733-4. last hour of his life as his subjects, was communicated to the English Jacobites through Colonel Cecil, to Lord Marischal, who had succeeded the Duke of Ormonde at Madrid, and to Colonel O'Bryan in Paris. During the rest of the year the Jacobite hopes ebbed and flowed, and the Polish question had a direct bearing upon them. King Stanislaus, who had held that crown for four years until dispossessed by Augustus II. in 1709, now returned to Poland, where a majority elected him King, in opposition to the young Elector of Saxony, who was supported by the Emperor of Austria and the Empress of Russia. Lord Cornbury, who had been to Rome and was at this time a fervent Jacobite, went to Paris—as the Duchess of Buckingham had done the previous year—to urge the Ministers not to hesitate in venturing upon an expedition to England;
June 25. some of the King's friends had taken measures to seize the Tower, if the troops in London were withdrawn on hearing of a landing, and in many parts of the country the chief noblemen had arranged with their friends to rise at the first signal. Several of the officers in the army with their troops would join, also the captains of several men-of-war in commission.[1] Harness for the King's horses was being made at Avignon. Chauvelin promised on his side that the expedition would assuredly take place this year, "*sauf evênement inesperé*"; and this saving clause O'Bryan instantly understood as referring to King Stanislaus—Louis XV. considering himself bound to support his father-in-law's claims should they be disputed. That question was soon solved by the Emperor assembling a large force in Silesia to oppose the election of Stanislaus, while 30,000 Russians entered Poland to support the Elector of Saxony.

Thus was the die cast against James III. for, as he wrote
Oct. 10. to O'Bryan, if the French meant to do King Stanislaus' business first, "it is bound to be too late for this year." Hoping against hope, the Jacobites clung to the belief that the preparations for Stanislaus were a pretext to cover French intervention in favour of James, until the actual publication of Louis XV.'s declaration of war against the Emperor.

[1] See Appendix N.

The Duke of Berwick marched an army to the Rhine, and another French force assembled in Dauphiny to invade Italy; the Spaniards and Sardinians joined with France, and King Stanislaus retired to Dantzic, where he prepared to defend himself against the Russians and Saxons, and whence he was forced to fly in the following February. Thus was Continental Europe once again in a blaze from which England for the moment held aloof, and a curious incident of which was the strong rumour that Austria, whose troops were overrunning Italy, and who had suffered the loss of Cremona and Milan, intended to propose a scheme for seizing James and his two sons to deliver them to George II. The information was sent so often and seemed so trustworthy, that James at last informed the Pope and the French Ambassador. Persons coming into Rome were therefore watched, and a guard was set before the Palazzo Muti—a strange ending to a year which had opened with so fair a prospect. 1733-4. Dec. 23.

At the beginning of the new year, James, in consideration of the advanced age of Dr Ingleton, Mr Dicconson, and Sir David Nairne, the chief surviving ocular witnesses of James II.'s heroic virtues in the latter end of his life, wrote an interesting letter to Abbé Lewis Inese, directing him to ask the Archbishop of Paris to appoint a commission to receive their sworn testimony, and that of other persons who had had personal knowledge of his father's sanctity. Without these necessary preliminaries, which might be proceeded with quietly and without *éclat*, no further steps could be taken for the beatification of his father, which he had greatly at heart. The Archbishop acquiesced in James's pious endeavours; the court was appointed, the witnesses were heard, and the cause was carried to Rome; where, after some years, it seems finally to have been allowed to drop for insufficient testimony of the *fama sanctitatis.* Feb. 10.

A few weeks after James's commission to Abbé Inese, he sent another commission to Paris; this time on the subject of his wife's health, a report on which, drawn up by the Pope's first physician, was to be submitted to two or March 31.

1734. three of the ablest doctors in Paris, without mentioning Clementina's name. Her health had been failing for some time, and Lord Dunbar had reported to Colonel O'Bryan that he feared they would soon have the affliction to lose the Queen, their mistress, who was dangerously ill. She rallied again, and was able to resume her life of active good works, visiting hospitals and practising the greatest austerities; though her husband, while assuring the Duchess of Buckingham that she was decidedly better, said he had no hope of her recovering entirely, or taking any care of herself.

The coolness which had subsisted between James and the Duke of Berwick, ever since 1715, had been removed by the good offices of the Bishop of Rochester, who had hoped to induce Berwick, in conjunction with Lord Clare, to take over the management of James's affairs in France. The Duchess of Buckingham had also done her part, and the Duke had sent offers of service and good will. James wrote to him, 22nd June, wishing him as brilliant an ending to his campaign on the Rhine as the commencement had been by the taking of Kehl; but before the letter was written an end had been put for ever to the Duke of Berwick's many campaigns by the fatal cannon-ball at the siege of Philipsbourg; and the gallant son of James II. and Arabella Churchill, the one uniformly successful general in the service of France since the death of Turenne, had ceased to be.[1] His eldest son, the Duke of Liria, succeeded to the title of Berwick; and in replying to James's condolences, renewed his oft-expressed assurances of fidelity and service to the last drop of his blood. The new Duke was at Naples, where he had, with little opposition from the Austrians, helped to establish Don Carlos as king. James, who had failed in his efforts to send his eldest son to France, obtained leave from the King of Spain to send the Prince to the siege of Gaëta. "He is rather young" (he was fourteen years of age), he writes to Prince James Sobiesky, "but he cannot begin too soon to learn his *métier*, and he has good strong health." He com-

[1] The Duke of Berwick was sixty-four years of age.

mended his son to the Duke of Berwick's tenderness and care :— 1734.

"Not to drive too far neither, for as well as I love him I had raither lose him than that he should not behave as his birth and his honour require of him. *Enfin*, I put him absolutely under your care and direction, and if he observes my orders you will find him very docile. July 27.

"I earnestly beg of you to let me know, freely and without flattery, how he behaves in every respect, for after all he is very young, and one cannot expect from him what one might do were he some years older."

The Prince, under the care of Lord Dunbar and Sir Thomas Sheridan, left Rome in the highest spirits on the 27th July, a paragraph being sent for publication in England that he was going to make a campaign under the name of the Chevalier of St George, as his faher had done before him. He was received at Mola with all the honours due to the Prince of Wales, but he requested they might not be repeated as he was incognito.[1]

From the Duke of Berwick's letters, as well as from Dunbar's full and regular reports, it seems clear that the young Chevalier not only met with "as many admirers as spectators" but that he really behaved himself in his intercourse with the stilted Hispano-Neapolitan king and his courtiers with perfect ease, self-possession, and tactful good sense. Don Carlos never having been in the trenches, the question was at once debated between Berwick and Dunbar as to how the Prince's eagerness to go there could be gratified without giving umbrage to the King. The matter was settled by General de Mortemar bringing a message to the effect that it was "not convenient the Prince should do more than the King," but Berwick hoped to get leave for him "to go as far as any of us; H.R.H.'s honour is more precious to me than my life." Aug. 6.

[1] A story was spread over Europe, and has come down to us in the pages of M. de Brosses' contemporary *Lettres d'Italie*, to the effect that the Prince's hat was blown into the sea on his way to Naples, and that he refused to allow it to be recovered, with the gloomy remark that if matters did not mend he would have to go after it! So improbable a remark from a lad of fourteen, wild with delight at making his first campaign, hardly needed his father's contradiction in a letter to Lord Inverness: "There is no truth in the hat story."

1734. Gaëta surrendered the same evening, but Lord Dunbar rejoiced to be able to report that they managed to get the Prince to an outpost where five cannon balls had fallen a quarter of an hour previously, and which the Spanish officers had left.

> "The Prince would have gone further if he had been allowed. This must be published in England. . . . He talks to the Spanish soldiers in Spanish, to the Walloons in French, serves them with drink with his own hand, and they can talk of nothing else. He contrasts most favourably with the King of Naples."

Such reports foreshadow the wonderful popularity of the "bonnie Prince Charlie" of later days; as we find another dawning characteristic hinted at in one of his mother's tender, prayerful little letters, where she exhorts him not to be greedy, and to remember that temperance at meals is one of the great qualities of a worthy Prince. His epistolary style was as laconic as it was to remain, and his writing as bad. He appears only to have written the two following brief notes to his father—none to his mother—and the little Duke of York was greatly mortified to get no answers to his letters:—

Aug. 12. "Sir, I am very glad that you are contented with me. I have been very good, and hope with the Grace of God to continue so and umbly ask your Blessing. "CHARLES, P."

Aug. 21. "Sir, My Lord Dumbar has excused me for not having writ to you hetherto. I have been very good and umbly ask your Blessing. "CHARLES, P."

It is not surprising that such letters drew a remonstrance from the King, who wrote that his comfort at receiving good accounts of him from others was a little diminished by the shortness and incorrectness of his letters:—

Aug. 27. ". . . I am sensible these ommissions proceed from your too natural aversion to all application and constraint, and that if you do not get the better of yourself and endeavour to cultivate the Talents which Providence has given you, you will soon lose that good character which your present behaviour is beginning to gain you. . . . You will have more to answer for if your conduct be not such as it ought to be in all respects, that I believe few children have had more pains taken about their education than you, whom I beseech God to bless, embracing you with all the tenderness I am capable of . . ."

The Prince accompanied Don Carlos to Naples, where he was nobly entertained and loaded with presents, including two Spanish horses, magnificently accoutred, at his departure. Lord Dunbar wrote to James that the Ministers would be glad to see them go, as the Prince so far outshone the King in the eyes of the public that it was natural they should desire that an end might be put to the comparison between them. As he wrote to O'Bryan in Paris, "the Prince was simply adored in Naples, the people following wherever he went." Another proof of the impression made by the young Chevalier was the offer of the Duke of Berwick to the King his father, to make a campaign with him when and wherever he pleased.

1734-5.

Sept. 12.

Soon after her son's return to Rome, Clementina's health failed more and more rapidly. Her secretary, Jacquin, wrote to Prince James Sobiesky on the 1st January that he considered the Queen in danger—she hides her sufferings and takes no care of herself; the King does the best he can for her. A few days later James informed Lord Inverness that the Queen had received the last Sacraments and was dying: "She is perfectly in her senses and dyes with a tranquillity, a piety and a peace, which is with reason a great comfort to me." The witness of friend and foe, of Catholic and Protestant and Free-thinker agreed in respectful admiration of what Dunbar called "a rare example of courage and constancy"; and even Stosch has only words of praise for the "exemplary goodness and piety" of the dying Princess, 'who is regretted of all Rome (her husband excepted)." A truer estimate of her husband's feelings is given by Dunbar to Colonel O'Bryan:—

Jan. 12.

> ". . . You can judge of the situation we are in, and what is still more cruel is to see the King overwhelmed with affliction and fatigue to a degree which makes me fear that his health will suffer, which God forbid. . . . I thought he would have fainted when he left the Queen's room; the Princes are almost sick with weeping and want of sleep, and on all sides there is nothing but lamentation."

During the few days she lingered, special prayers were said in all the churches, and half the Roman population seems

1735. to have been on its knees, praying that the beloved and pious Queen might yet be spared.

She piously breathed her last on the evening of Tuesday, the 18th of January, in the thirty-fourth year of her age; and the Pope decreed that her obsequies should be the same as those of Queen Christina of Sweden, in the year 1689. The following Sunday, her embalmed body, clad for the first and last time in royal robes, was carried shoulder-high on a bed of state—with all the magnificent pageantry and pomp and splendour of procession such as Rome alone can show—from the Church of the SS. Apostoli, where it had lain since the day of her death, to the basilica of St Peter. Amid the tears and benedictions of the people, the dead Queen passed along in gold-laced robe and mantle of purple velvet lined with ermine and clasped with gold, a royal cap of purple and ermine on her head; and surrounding her from head to foot, like the pale nimbus in some ancient painting, lay the masses of her lovely, pale-brown hair. "She looked beautiful and majestic even in death." In the choir-chapel of St Peter's, the royal robes were laid aside, revealing the Dominican habit in which the Queen had elected to be buried, and she was laid in her cypress coffin.

Brit. Mus., 605, c. 43, A.D. 1735.

Over the church door, on the outside, was a Latin inscription, describing the Queen as "eminently distinguished for—

"Piety to God, Charity to others, Denial to herself.

"Clement XII. Pope, decreed these obsequies to be performed with all Regal Honours in Rome.

"Her death all virtuous minds lament."

The poor lamented her for the great charity which led her to sympathise with all their sorrows, to serve them in the hospitals with a mother's tenderness and care; and they refused to believe her helpfulness had ceased with her mortal life, and invoked her intercession in their troubles and afflictions even after her death.[1] So died and was

[1] As late as the year 1777 we find the solemn attestation of a cure wrought upon a child of six years of age, at Prague, at the intercession of the venerable Maria Clementina, Queen of England. *Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 34, 638.

buried Clementina Sobieska, not the least pathetic figure among the women whose fate had linked them with the Stuarts; and with a strange strain of paradox in her character—*plus catholique que le Pape;* spending herself in the most rigid austerities, and yet requiring a hint that she might be deprived of the Sacraments, to induce her to return to the elementary duties of her state of life; and wringing from honest Abbé Inese, at the time when a new Pope tried to induce her to consent to Lord Inverness's return to Rome, the assertion:— 1735.

> "For my part I do not see how any Director that understands his duty, and is rightly informed of the case, can think the Queen's conscience secure unless she complies. Nor do I see how Religion can be pretended for a reason of Her Majesty's standing out." Jan. 1, 1731.

She had sought to act a political part, in defiance of the husband whose best interests she imagined herself to be serving, while she failed to perceive that she was making herself the tool of his enemies. And then had come the four years of absolute docile abnegation and repentance, so that her whole behaviour from the day of reconciliation to the day of her death "was a continual Proof of the sorrowful Sense she had of that Fault to a Husband, who never could be justly charged with One toward her, even upon that unhappy Occasion." By the sweetness of her carriage she won her way back to her husband's heart, and wiped away the bitterness between them; but it was beyond her power to obliterate the wrong she had done him, and which has echoed through the pages of history whenever James III.'s personal character has been in question. Brit. Mus., 605, c. 43, A.D. 1735.

CHAPTER XIII

1735. AMONG the condolences which James received on the death of his wife, none can have touched him more than that of his father's most faithful servant and his own oldest friend, Lord Ailesbury, who wrote to him from Brussels, in the fortieth year of his own voluntary exile :—

Feb. 10. ". . . My only comfort is that you have a saint in Heaven to intercede for you; and although I grow greatly in years, however I flatter myselfe for to see the once happy day. All is in the hand of God and it is not in the power of the Arm of Flesh, and the good God will support the righteous in his appointed time. . . . I shall ever make good a device I assume *semper Idem* to the last moment of my life. . . ."

Had Clementina lived, Lord Inverness was to have spent some time in Rome; and in her desire to leave nothing undone to repair her past conduct, the Queen had left tokens in her Will, which, however, remained unsigned, for Lord and Lady Inverness.

The Maritime Powers had proposed a plan of peace, with which both the Imperialists and the French declared themselves dissatisfied; and James, in the month of April, sounded Cardinal Fleury as to making up matters with the Emperor independently of, and unknown to England and Holland. He hoped to be able to bring in Spain with his own Restoration as the basis of the treaty. By the end of June the French and their allies had possessed themselves of all the Austrian dominions in Italy except Mantua, which made Charles VI. more inclined to thoughts of peace, although the Czarina sent 30,000 troops to his assistance in the following month. If a Catholic alliance came to pass, as James instructed O'Rourke to explain to the Austrian Count, his Restoration could be managed so as not to give umbrage to the English nation :—

July 16. ". . . Since the point will be at last not to force me upon them, but the Elector of Hanover out of England, after which, considering the

present disposition of my subjects, my Restoration will naturally follow without constraint or opposition." 1735.

Cardinal Fleury seemed not averse to the scheme, and July 23. M. Chauvelin, *Garde des Sceaux*, dictated a note in strictest secrecy to Colonel O'Bryan for transmission to James upon union with Austria. If the Emperor would send a person to some neutral place, such as Lorraine or Basle, the French Ministry would be ready to listen to whatever might conduce to a good peace and a sincere reconciliation with Austria; and it is interesting to find that although the treaty of peace was not made known until the following November, and its first secret preliminaries were only supposed to have been treated of in October, a *précis* of them was remitted by O'Rourke to James on the 3rd September. The chief articles of the treaty were that France should guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, and return all her conquests in the Milanese, Parma, and Piacenza to Austria, receiving in return the reversion of Lorraine, which was to be ceded by the present Duke to King Stanislaus for his lifetime, Augustus of Saxony being recognised King of Poland. The Duke of Lorraine,[1] who was both blamed and pitied, according to O'Rourke, for signing his own degradation, received the reversion of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and, in the following February, the hand of the Archduchess Maria Theresa, the Emperor's eldest daughter.

Don Carlos was recognised King of Naples and the Two Sicilies; but as the Spanish claims, not only to Tuscany, but to Parma and Piacenza, were disallowed, the treaty was very obnoxious to the Spaniards, and there was considerable apprehension lest Philip V. would refuse to come into the alliance. When he had consented, and O'Bryan informed Cardinal Fleury that he heard Spain would now be ready to undertake an expedition into England, "I see you don't know Spain as we do," was the Cardinal's reply. The Great Powers were in fact more ready to avail themselves of James's good offices than to make him the return the Jacobites expected. When the

[1] Francis, son of James III.'s old friend Leopold, Duke of Lorraine.

1735-6. peace, with the exclusion of England and Holland, seemed likely to become an accomplished fact, they thought, in the
Nov. 7. words of Abbé Inese, "the consequence of this peace must naturally be Your Majesty's Restoration. May God in his Mercy grant it be so." The French were only waiting, as James wrote to O'Rourke, "for one Word from the Emperor," and if he will not say that word, the consequences may be fatal.

Aug. 15. The Jacobites were busy at home, Pulteney being the man James most relied on. Dr King, chosen by Colonel Cecil and his friends, went to Holland as Jacobite agent, and the Duchess of Buckingham arrived in Rome at the beginning of November with fresh promises and schemes.[1] It seems unlikely that she revealed to James her close intercourse with Sir Robert Walpole—or else James's expostulations were unheeded—for it continued with unabated confidence on her part after her return to England. Walpole took the opportunity of a lawsuit she had with some of her late husband's relatives to make things easy for her, captivating her so completely that it is said she proposed to marry him upon his second wife's death, an honour he managed to evade, without forfeiting her friendship or his hold upon her. She appointed his relation, Mr Hervey, one of her executors in her Will.

Brit. Mus., "Coxe Papers," Vol. LII., 9129 (101).

The restitution of Gibraltar and Port Mahon was one of the conditions offered to Spain; and a marriage between the Prince of Wales, now in his sixteenth year, and an Infanta of Spain was suggested by the Duke of Berwick; while proposals came from persons at the Court of Vienna for a match with the second Archduchess of Austria. To the latter proposal James replied it would greatly depend on future circumstances:—

> "Were I in England," [he wrote the following year to O'Rourke], "I should prefer having the Archduchess for my daughter-in-law to any other Princess in Europe, . . . but France and Spain have also daughters, and who knows but the prospect of having one of them hereafter Queen of England may happen to be a decisive argument with one of those two Powers to contribute to my Restoration."

[1] The young Duke of Buckingham died a few days after his arrival in Rome, to his mother's great affliction.

James had made fruitless efforts to obtain leave from France or Spain for the Prince to make another campaign; the refusal of Spain being inspired, according to the Duke of Berwick, by complaints from England of the Prince's presence the previous year at the siege of Gaëta. Lord Inverness, who spent a few weeks in Rome in the spring of 1736, declared to Colonel O'Bryan that he could not satisfy himself with "admiring our two Princes, who are certainly the marvel of the world." The elder one was busy making plans of fortifications; remaining, as his father expressed it to Lord Inverness, "wonderfully thoughtless for one of his age, but I hope a very little time will now mend that."

1736.

May 15.

The marriage of Prince Charles Edward was not the only Stuart marriage occupying the thoughts of the French Ministry; Clementina had been dead little more than a year when Cardinal Fleury threw out a suggestion that James III. might find a suitable bride in Mademoiselle de Maine, daughter of Louis XIV.'s legitimated son by Madame de Montespan, the Duc de Maine, who had married a Princess of Condé. His Eminence's idea was by no means palatable to James or his adherents, the Princess not being of the blood; and considered by them unworthy of such an honour, even if James had had any inclination to marry again. Nor, among the marriages proposed for James's son, must mention be omitted of the match, designed at a later time by some of the English Jacobites, with Walpole's own legitimated daughter, Lady Maria Walpole.[1]

April 2.

[1] By an unfortunate accident, M. de Chauvelin, in the month of October, handed to Lord Waldegrave, the English Ambassador, in mistake for another paper, a copy of a letter from James III. to Colonel O'Bryan relative to the project of his restoration. The discovery, which Walpole calls "a most seasonable and important event," was the occasion of twenty despatches, some of them of extreme length, between the English Ministers and Lord Waldegrave. Cardinal Fleury's and Chauvelin's assertions that the document was an isolated thing and of no real consequence were disbelieved, Walpole writing from Hanover that the Austrian Ambassador is to be told the English Government has heard "from Rome" that the Pretender is busy negotiating with Austria and France. Chauvelin's blunder led to his dismissal in the following February. —*Coxe's Walpole*, vol. iii. p. 262, *et seq.*

1736-7. Oct. 31. The Porteous Riots in Edinburgh are referred to as a Jacobite demonstration, "likely to have a good effect abroad, whatever the consequences at home"; but as time went on, and none of the three members of the new alliance had yet openly declared for him, James foresaw with truth that—

Feb. 27. "If one of the three great Powers does not speedily take my cause in hand, it is but too probable that one of the three may before long renew some alliance with the House of Hanover, which will throw us back into the situation we were in before the last war. . . ."

Austria was about to engage in a new campaign against the Turks; and James, who had been dissuaded by the Court of Vienna from sending Prince Charles to Poland on a visit to his grandfather, Prince James Sobiesky, on the score that it would cause "alarm and conjectures," and the probable interference of England, now asked leave from the Emperor that his son might serve incognito in the coming war with the Turks in Hungary. Meanwhile he sent the Prince on a tour in Italy which was to last two months, unless the permission arrived for him to make the campaign. The Prince left Rome on the 29th April, travelling under the name of Count of Albany, and Lord Dunbar reports his wonderful behaviour and the way he charmed everybody at Bologna; where he was received with speeches and entertained with great magnificence. "If your Majesty could have seen the gravity with which the Prince heard all these compositions I am sure it would have diverted you." At Parma, his behaviour when dining with the Duchess, and at the balls and the grand concert given at the palace in his honour, "was what you can have no idea of," wrote the delighted Governor; but it is evident that Charles's epistolary style had not much improved in the three years which had elapsed since the siege of Gaëta, for we find his father advising him: "When you read your brother's letter, make a short meditation upon his being four years younger than you." Another trait foreshadowing future

characteristics appears in a letter of Lord Dunbar from Bologna :— 1737.

"As H.R.H. cannot enjoy the diversion of dancing with moderation, but overheats himself monstrously . . . I have refused a ball the publick here intended to give him to-morrow night, and have writ . . . that he would accept of a Conversatione. . . . The later he comes home and the more he wants sleep, he will sit the longer at supper, so that it is not possible to get him to bed of an opera night till near three in the morning tho' he be home soon after one. . . ." June 19.

The Venice of which we get a vivid glimpse in Lord Dunbar's reports, was not the beautiful empty husk which still delights us, but a living, moving power, throbbing with business and with pleasure. A Doge still dwelt in the Ducal Palace, the Council of Ten sat in their painted chamber, and one of Prince Charles's first acts was to follow in his barge close behind the *Bucentaur*, when the Doge went out to marry the Adriatic. The Doge, Luigi Pisani, who had known James II. and Mary of Modena in Paris, while respecting the incognito of the young Count of Albany, paid him all the incidental honours possible. He made him "a very low bow" as he passed on the way to his public dinner; and when the Prince went to see the Grand Council, he was met at his gondola by a *Cavaliere della lastra d'oro* and ten attendants appointed to wait upon him. At the Grand Council and in the *Sala di Scrutigno* he was set in the place reserved for sovereign Princes; and the Doge on coming in "stopt and turning about made him a low bow, which was all in point of ceremony that could have been done." The banquets were magnificent, the entertainments splendid, and the writer declares that the jewels of the Venetian ladies were beyond anything he had ever seen; and he records without complaint that the dancing went on till five o'clock in the morning. June 3.

The Elector of Bavaria and his wife—that Princess Palatine who had been one of the first brides proposed to James III. in 1715—were at Venice; they claimed the Prince as a relation, and when they accidentally met in the Library of San Giorgio, after embracing, they

1737. conversed for a quarter of an hour in the hearing of 100 persons :—

> "He behaved in a manner to surprise all who heard him. All he said was in a lively, civil, and respectful manner, but at the same time with an air of superiority over his company that was remarked by everybody."

The Elector was full of his praises, the town talked of nothing else, and the Doge himself wrote to Cardinal Ottoboni at Rome that he was delighted with him. At Florence the travellers found the Grand Duke very ill, and the Florentines, according to Lord Dunbar—

June 29.

> "Were never so mortified as at this moment to be deprived of the privilege of choosing his successor, from the inclination they have conceived towards the Prince, and the talk even of the common people to this effect is curious."[1]

The Prince's tour was not interrupted by a call to make a campaign in Hungary, for Austria refused to allow him to serve in her army; thus the three Great Powers from whom James hoped so much, one after the other declined, through fear of the English Court, to allow his son to complete the training essential to his rank under their auspices. James III. had inherited his mother's indomitable spirit of hopefulness; he had written to Lord Inverness after the latter's return to Avignon from Rome :—"Guard yourself against a melancholy disposition, which can never do good, and always exposes us to evil, besides the ill it is of itself"; and at the close of another year of disappointed hopes and baffled effort, his comment to the same faithful servant is :—

> "So the years pass, and little change in my situation, though the truth is according to appearances one may, I think, hope that the present year will not pass quite so dully as the former. . . ."

June 23.

The effect created by "the winning carriage" of the Prince during his two months' tour had penetrated all over Europe, attracting considerably more notice to him than the English Court desired; but the Duke of Newcastle's letter to the Venetian Resident in London, ordering him to leave England within twice twenty-four hours, because "the

[1] The Grand Duke of Tuscany, the last of the Medici, died on 9th of July.

Republic had thought fit to distinguish the son of the Pretender . . . with very particular and extraordinary honours," rather tended to increase than diminish interest in the gallant young Jacobite Prince.[1] The King of Sardinia had feared to allow him to come to Turin, and the Court of Vienna made complaints about the passports which had been given him; while the King of Spain, who was threatened with another fit of hypochondria, of which the chief symptom was that he allowed his beard to grow, declined to permit him to travel in Spain. "It is indeed poor work," is James's comment to the Duke of Berwick, "but still it shows how intent the English Government is in confining us, if they can, to the Ecclesiastical States." 1737.

The ferment of Jacobitism was working in Scotland; the Porteous Riots had raised an excitement which found vent on James's birthday, the 21st June; great processions of people marched through the streets of Edinburgh, some of them carrying white rose-trees pulled up by the roots. When they came to the Grassmarket they fixed the rose-trees into the ground in the very place where Porteous was hanged, and there they proclaimed James VIII. King. And Gordon of Glenbucket arrived in Rome in the following January on an errand from Scotland, to say that all was ready, and never had affairs been in a more favourable condition. Glenbucket had passed through Paris and explained to Cardinal Fleury how a few men and officers could be drawn from the Irish regiments near the coast and carried suddenly into Scotland. The Spanish Ambassador in Paris went at the same time to see Colonel O'Bryan by order of his Government, to inform him that if France would undertake something on behalf of James, Spain would enter into it "heart and soul," and the Ambassador much blamed the Cardinal's timidity. July 30. Jan. 9.

Although Glenbucket had brought satisfactory assurances from the Highlands, he brought few from the Lowlands, and James, after keeping him a few weeks at Rome, sent

[1] The Resident of Parma had been dismissed from England in the same manner after James's visit there in 1729.

1738. Captain Hay with him to Scotland to obtain more ample information.[1] At the same time he wrote to Colonel Cecil to inquire what the English Jacobites were prepared to do in case of a rising in Scotland. Cecil, who had previously
March 1. asked for 12,000 troops, replied that it would be too great a risk to attempt anything in Scotland, for England would not assist without a foreign succour. There were 18,000 troops on the English establishment, and foreign aid would probably be obtained. If the Scots were to rise, all the King's chief friends in England would be arrested. Captain Hay returned from Scotland in June with very good reports from both the Highlands and Lowlands, but Cecil could only write as follows of the state of things in England:—

July. 24. "... Five out of six of all the people, for one cause or another, are against the House of Hanover; how melancholy to reflect that wee, without the assistance in my former mentioned, could do nothing. ... If amongst all, one could be found of a generous, enterprising and resolute temper, I should not doubt but wee might compass the important business by ourselves ... but ah lass; such is our misfortune, such is the wretchedness of our times, that I have been searching long to discover such a man in vain. ..."

Aug. 14. Since the death of Dundee at Killiecrankie, the Jacobite cause had in truth suffered uniformly from that lack of a head, of which Queen Mary of Modena had complained soon after that irreparable loss. Under the circumstances, James could but exhort the Scots to prudence and patience and secrecy, while bidding them keep a good correspondence and intelligence with his friends in England.

The furious quarrels between George II. and his eldest son, which had culminated in an order from the Lord Chamberlain that "no person whatsoever who shall pay their Court to the Prince and Princess of Wales shall be admitted to His Majesty's presence," did not tend to promote respect and affection for the House of Hanover in England, and were another source of Jacobite hopefulness. An accession of wealth had come to James's two sons at the beginning of the year by the death of Prince James Sobiesky, who left them the Duchy of Ohlau and all his

[1] Captain Hay was a relation of Lord Inverness.

jewels in the Monte di Pietà at Rome, which he had sent the money to redeem, a few months before his death.[1] 1738-9

Throughout the year negotiations and messengers were busily passing between England and Scotland and France and Spain; and we find the echoes of quarrels and jealousies and adhesions and reconciliations. The Duke of Perth and his brother Lord John Drummond were at odds, but all jealousies would cease upon the King's appearance, and Lord Lovat could positively be counted upon.[2]

The definite treaty between Austria and France which was only signed in November, with the adhesion of Sardinia; the treaty between France and Sweden, and the difficulties in the negotiations between England and Spain, were all looked upon by James as directly or indirectly favourable to his interest. "Providence seems disposing events gradually in my favour, while requiring me to do my part, in which I hope I may never fail." Dec. 13. But English diplomacy had overcome the difficulties with Spain; and George II. was able to declare at the meeting of Parliament in February, that a Convention was concluded and ratified with the King of Spain, and plenipotentiaries appointed for regulating all the grievances and abuses which had hitherto interrupted British commerce and navigation in the American seas. This event drew from O'Bryan the despairing remark that so long as the Queen ruled in Spain, and Cardinal Fleury in France, there was little hope of foreign help. 739. Jan. 30. The former thought of nothing but Italy, and the latter of keeping peace during the few remaining days of his life.

To all the hints and entreaties of the Jacobites in England and in France to enter into secret intercourse with Sir Robert Walpole, James always opposed a steady refusal. "I greatly doubt whether I shall ever address myself to him in any way," April 8. he wrote to O'Bryan. "It is true that affairs in England are in great commotion, and

[1] Two of James's most faithful adherents died within a few months of each other—Abbé Lewis Inese in February, and the Duke of Berwick during his embassy at Naples, in the month of June.

[2] Lord Lovat was at the same time in full correspondence with his brother-in-law, Brigadier Campbell, at Somerset House, hiring out members of his clan to George II. at £3, 10s. a head.

1739. that the Government seems gradually drawing to an end, nevertheless we require something more to destroy it entirely." And again, "If he [Walpole] designed to entrap us, would he act differently?"

The state of affairs in England was set forth in a joint memoir from Lord Strafford and Colonel Cecil, in which
April 18 they describe Bolingbroke as a snake in the grass who has stirred up a violent faction against Walpole, "and finding the Duke of Hanover will not part with him, they have taken hold of the Convention [with Spain] to force him to it." James's true friends are so hearty that they would engage in any project for his restoration, but the others "who are newly come in mean nothing less." They would give him great assurances and betray him at last; while George II. was to be told that if he did not part with Walpole they would restore the King; but that they would place the heads and the estates of the Jacobites in his power on the dismissal of his Ministry. The memoir ends by advising the King to come into their terms; but at the same time to apprise Cardinal Fleury of every step that is taken.

In his efforts to entrap the Jacobite King, Walpole proposed to send Thomas Carte on a secret mission to Rome.
June 8. Carte went first to Paris, and assured O'Bryan that Walpole had sent a messenger, one Avery, to him at Boulogne, bidding him go straight to Rome to consult the King on two points—assurances for religion and for the good treatment of the family of Hanover, to whom Walpole owed so much, but could no longer support. O'Bryan did his utmost to shake Carte's confidence in Walpole, but he maintained his belief in Sir Robert's sincerity; "finding him so fixt," O'Bryan has asked Cardinal Tencin to take him in his suite to Rome under the name of "Kemp."[1]

Brit. Mus., "Coxe Papers," 9129 (76), cxxxvii. James received Carte's overtures with distrust; he answered, July 10th, that the message appeared singular and extraordinary:—

> ". . . As you only deliver it from second hand and that I have no sort of proof of your being authorised by the person in question, who cannot but feel that it is natural for me to distrust what may come from him. . . .

[1] Walpole recalled Carte from Paris at the end of August.

If he hath really my interest at heart, let him send to me some trusty friend and confidant of his to explain his sentiments . . . and if he pursues Measures which manifestly tend to my Restoration. . . . But whatever may or may not be in this matter, I have no difficulty in putting it in your power to satisfy him . . . on the two articles . . . independent of his desires I am fully resolved to protect and secure the Church of England, according to the reiterated promises I have made to that effect. . . . As for the Princes of the House of Hanover, I thank God I have no resentment against them. . . . I shall never repine at their living happily in their own Country . . . and should they fall into my power upon any attempt for my Restoration, I shall certainly not touch a hair of their heads. 1739-40.

"I thought it proper to explain . . . my sentiments on these heads, not absolutely to neglect an occurrence which may be of great importance if well grounded, and if otherways, no inconvenience can arise from what I have here said.—J. R."

The receipt of this prudent letter probably occasioned Walpole's recall of Mr Carte; and "*il nous trompe, je le sais*" ("he is deceiving us, I know it") was Cardinal Fleury's answer to Colonel O'Bryan, on being asked his opinion of Walpole's move; "the number of troops in England is increased, and there are twenty-four big men-of-war in the Channel." James's own doubts of Walpole's sincerity persisted; he wrote to Carte, upon receiving the latter's account of his interview with "the great man," that he was very doubtful as to his sentiments: "I have myself no further steps to take, but to wait and see whether he makes any direct application to me." And, in reference to a hint from Walpole as to a marriage between Prince Charles and one of the Hanover Princesses, James writes to O'Bryan that he will take no notice of it whatever, and that he is entirely on his guard against Walpole.[1] Nov. 11.

The English Convention with Spain was not of long duration; Philip V. would not renounce the right of searching English vessels for contraband, while England refused the £68,000 claimed by Spain from the South Sea Company; so, after some parley, Walpole was forced to give way to popular pressure, and war was declared before the end of the year, James writing to Lord Inverness:

[1] Every letter of this correspondence was shown to George II. by Sir Robert Walpole.

1739-40. "You will have heard of the war being declared at last.
Nov. 24. . . . I do not allow my hopes and expectations to run too high." France having unavailingly offered her mediation to England, announced that she would feel compelled to assist Spain both by land and sea; and Cardinal Fleury sent Colonel Brett, one of the Jacobite agents, with a direct message to the party in England, while Philip V. hastily summoned the Duke of Ormonde from Avignon to Madrid. The Cardinal, moreover, wrote a private note to James with his own hand, advising him to sit still, and that in two months' time one would see more clearly into affairs which
Feb. 2. were not yet ripe. "This short message," wrote James to the Duke of Ormonde, "says a great deal. . . . Matters may so fall out that you will be in England before me." Matters were in fact beginning to work up towards the events of 1745, and James's eldest son, in acknowledging the significant present of a full Highland dress from the Duke of Perth, declared that the value and esteem he had for the friends like whom he would be dressed, would make him wear it with satisfaction.

An interesting account, all the more interesting for being that of a perfectly impartial witness, is given of James III. and his Court at this period by M. de Brosses in his letters from Italy in 1739-40.[1] He describes James as easily to be recognised for a Stuart, very like the portraits of his father, and resembling his natural brother the Duke of Berwick, "with this difference, that the Duke's countenance was sad and stern, whereas that of the Pretender is sad and feeble."

> "There is no lack of dignity in his manner. I have never seen any Prince hold a large Court with so much grace and majesty. . . . He is extremely devout; spending his mornings in prayer at the Church of the S.S. Apostoli. . . . His whole conduct is reasonable and suitable to his condition . . . he speaks little, but always with gentleness and kindness. His table is always laid for eleven persons, and he generally invites some of the strangers who have come to pay him their court. . . . Each time I have been, he has asked me to stay. The dinners are not amusing;—if by chance they become so, the King appears well pleased. . . . When

[1] de Brosses, *Lettres écrites d'Italie à quelques amis en* 1739 *et* 1740. Paris, 1836.

he comes to table his two sons, before sitting down, kneel and ask his blessing. . . . 1740.

"The elder is about twenty years of age, and the younger fifteen . . . they are amiable, polite, and gracious, but appear of moderate ability and less formed for their age than Princes ought to be. . . . The English, who are always numerous in Rome, seek every opportunity to approach them. As by the laws of England they are forbidden, under pain of capital punishment, to set foot in the Stuart palace, and as we are constantly with both parties, they inquire from us where the young Princes are likely to be seen. . . . I hear from those who know them well that the elder is the favourite, that he has a good heart and great courage, feeling his position keenly, and that if he does not release himself from it, it will not be for lack of intrepidity. . . . Both Princes are passionately fond of music, and know it thoroughly. The elder plays the bass-viol very well, and the other sings Italian airs with a pretty child's voice in the best taste; they have an exquisite concert once a week; 'tis the best music in Rome, and I never miss it. Yesterday, I went in as they were playing Corelli's famous concerto, *la notte di Natale*, and I expressed my regret at not having arrived in time to hear the whole of it. When they were about to begin something else, the Prince of Wales said, 'No, let us play this over again. I heard M. de Brosses say he would like to hear it all.' I willingly relate this trait of politeness and kindness."

M. de Brosses says of Lord Dunbar that he is an "*homme d'esprit*," and highly esteemed.[1]

At the death of Lord Strafford in the previous November, Lord Barrymore[2] had become one of the chief Jacobite leaders in England, and was sent to Paris March 28. by his party to assure Cardinal Fleury, that the King's friends would not fail to join such troops as the King of France should send to their assistance. The Duke of Ormonde and Lord Marischal were at the same time presenting to the Duc de Mortemar at Madrid—who spoke of sending Ormonde with twenty-eight ships into England and Marischal into Scotland—a paper containing a detailed statement of the number of men ready to rise in Scotland, and the men, money, arms, and provisions to be furnished by Spain. The Swedes were once again inclining towards the Stuart cause, and the Swedish Ambassador in Paris, Count Tessin, authorised the Duke of Ormonde to assure the Court of Spain, that if Philip V. was seriously resolved

[1] Horace Walpole, who was at Rome the same year, describes Lord Dunbar as "very sensible, very agreeable, and well-bred."

[2] James Barry, fourth Earl of Barrymore (1667-1747).

1740. to make an expedition into England ("his very words"), his Court was ready to join in the design by making a descent at the same time, subject to the approval of France. If the King of Spain approved, Tessin would at once send a proper person to Spain. But the Court of Spain, in the
May 12. words of James to Lord Sempill, was "a real chaos." The Duke of Ormonde received a cold reply about the Swedish proposals; and it had become plain that he and Lord Marischal had been summoned to Spain, less for James's service, than to alarm the English Government and prevent the sailing of the English fleet. It was whispered that the King of Spain was "underhand seeking an accommodation with Hanover," and after some further negotiations Ormonde
Sept. 1. and Marischal returned to Avignon.

A Highland gentleman, Macgregor of Balhady, had meanwhile arrived in Rome with what Lord Sempill, another Jacobite emissary, called "beautiful plans" from Scotland.[1] For once there seemed to be such concord and union among the Scots that 20,000 men would rise at once. The English are slow, Lord Sempill admits, but James's appearance would make them exert their abilities with spirit and resolution. Such is the opinion of the Duchess of Buckingham, Sir Watkin Williams, Lords Arran and Barrymore; it is what Sir J. Hynde Cotton desired Colonel Brett to tell the King of France and Cardinal Fleury.

Two of the chief events of the eighteenth century occurred within the space of four months—the accession of Frederick the Great to the crown of Prussia in June, and the death of the Emperor Charles VI. in October, by which Europe was to be plunged into fresh scenes of bloodshed. The young Archduchess Maria Theresa's title as Queen of Hungary was uncontested; but her assumption of that of Empress of Austria was at once opposed by the Elector of Bavaria, who claimed the empire for himself; while the King of Prussia, who had promised to support the Pragmatic Sanction, made a sudden and unprovoked attack upon Silesia within a month of the young Empress's

[1] Francis, second Lord Sempill (died 1748).

accession. Then did Cardinal Fleury make the great mistake of his life; turning aside from the war against England which was on the eve of being declared, and breaking the solemn guarantee he had given in the name of France to uphold the Pragmatic Sanction, he withdrew the French Ambassador from Vienna, and prepared to support the claims of Bavaria to the empire. 1740.

What might have been the result to France and to the peace of Europe if the Cardinal had adhered to the cause of legitimacy, and had joined with Spain to restore the Stuarts—thus substituting a strict alliance with England for the state of war which was to become almost habitual between the two countries—can only be guessed at; but that his decision was fatal to France seems to have been plain to the shrewdest statesman in Europe, Sir Robert Walpole himself. "My lord thinks differently from the rest of the world," wrote his son three years later; "he thought from the first, that France never missed such an opportunity as when they made the German war, instead of joining with Spain against us."[1]

The year 1740 brought to James one of the keenest of sorrows, in the loss of the true and faithful friend who had tasted to the full of the bitterness of his cup; Lord Inverness died suddenly at Avignon in September. In the adversity of fate which had separated them, the weekly correspondence which had never been interrupted from the day of Inverness's departure from Rome, had been the sole medium of advice and council between them. The letters were burned after Inverness's death; but from the few which escaped, and from the copies of some of James's, we can judge of the absolute disinterestedness as well as of the clear judgment and capacity of the prudent counsellor. Lord and Lady Inverness became Catholics some time after their retreat to Avignon, thus destroying the only point of difference between the Stuart king and his friend, while making it still more impossible, in the state of James's affairs and the jealousies of the English Jacobites, that Inverness could ever be readmitted to his service. Hence-

[1] Horace Walpole to Horace Mann, June 24, 1743.

1741-2. forward an element of great loneliness was to enter into James III.'s life and to remain in it to the end.

Although Sir Robert Walpole continued his attempts to get into James's confidence, and Carte sent accounts of his interviews with Avery and himself, and offers of places, James's only reply was in a note to Colonel O'Bryan:
Sept. 27. "You know what I think of Carte and of Avery"; and, a few months later, he sent positive orders to his friends in Parliament, who numbered fifty, under the leadership of Mr Shippen—the one man in England of whom Walpole declared he did not know the price—to take vigorous and unanimous measures against the Government.[1]

Discontent in England was not abated when it became known that a treaty of neutrality had been agreed upon between France and Hanover, which James described in a letter to Colonel Cecil as a sacrifice of the balance of
Nov. 1. Europe, and of the honour and interests of Britain, in order to save the State of Hanover, affording ample matter to all true lovers of their country to oppose and distress the present Government to the last degree:—

> ". . . And were these topicks managed with a proper dexterity and spirit in Parliament, it would . . . open the eyes of the whole Nation . . . and who knows but it might end in a noble resolution to shake off the yoke of themselves, without being beholden for it to any fforeign Power. . . ."

James may be excused for believing that the nation was about to take that resolution when "the greatest news that had come from England for a long time" arrived, that Walpole had at last been driven from power, after ruling
Feb. 2. England for twenty years, and had gone to the House of Lords with the title of Earl of Orford. James congratulated his friends in Parliament upon having followed his instructions, telling them at the same time that although
April 25. Cardinal Fleury gave Lord Sempill many fair words, nothing could be expected of him until circumstances

[1] How great was the ascendancy of the Ministry over the House of Commons may be judged by the fact, that there were in 1739 upwards of 250 members who had places under Government, with salaries from £250 to £11,000 a year.—*Salmon's Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 359.

compelled him to act; and that it would be much better for the King's friends to do the work without foreign help. 1742.

Cardinal Fleury was in no condition to undertake fresh enterprises—that on which he had embarked was going on disastrously. The Elector of Bavaria had indeed been crowned Emperor at Frankfort with the title of Charles VII., and had then, with his French allies, suffered defeat after defeat at the hands of Prince Charles of Lorraine, Maria Theresa's brother-in-law. In sending James an account of another victory over the French and Bavarians at Linz, O'Rourke writes from Vienna that the new Emperor

> ". . . Will have to seek where to retire when he leaves Frankfort, and how to subsist with the proper decency of a Court. He has neither money nor credit, and is indeed a very poor Emperor; at present that his hereditary country is occupied by the Austrians, who take good care to drain it . . ." Feb. 24.

The Emperor Charles VI.'s death had been the Queen of Spain's opportunity. James III. had foreseen from the first that it would renew Elizabeth Farnese's projects upon Italy; and in fact 17,000 troops were assembled at Barcelona and carried into Lombardy before the end of the year 1741, to support the claim of her second son, the Infante Don Philip, to the Duchies of Tuscany and Parma. Notwithstanding these wars, which were sufficient fully to occupy France and Spain on the Continent, the projects for a possible expedition to England were intermittently carried on throughout the year, and we find James writing in November 1742 to O'Bryan to impress upon Cardinal Tencin, who had lately entered the Council and was much his friend, that in case of an expedition the French Government must be careful to declare plainly that the House of Hanover was being attacked, and not the English nation.

On the 10th December, Sir William Yonge, Secretary of War, proposed a grant of £637,000 to defray the cost of 16,000 Hanoverian troops for the defence of Hanover. The proposal raised an outburst of anger in Parliament and in the country, which came nigh to fulfilling James III.'s hope that his friends might do the work of his restoration

1742-3. without foreign aid; and Whig accounts of the state of feeling in England go far to confirm this view.—

> "George II. was very unpopular. His partiality for the Electorate, and rumours of his preferring the Hanoverian to the British forces, occasioned clamours no less general and vehement than those excited against William for favouring the Dutch. The toast of 'No Hanoverian King' was not unfrequently given in large companies; and the very name of Hanoverian became a term of disgrace and obloquy."[1]

The question occasioned speeches in the House of Commons "as were never made before," wrote Thomas Carte to James:—

May 5.

> "Not only Sir William Watkyn Wynne declared that England was made a mere province of Hanover; and when some were for taking the words down, Sir J. H. Cotton got up, averred it to be so in fact, repeated and justified the words, so that the House acquiesced. . . . On the great day of debate on that affair Sir John St Aubyn . . . prefaced his speech with these remarkable words, 'that he considered that day as the last day of liberty for England . . . and declared it to be his sentiment, that we lived under a Prince who being used to arbitrary power in his Dominions abroad, was minded to establish it here, that all his measures were calculated for that end, and that of the Hanoverian troops in particular. . . .' This speech made him in a moment the darling toast of London. . . . All names of parties are now lost and buried in oblivion; the only distinction left is that of Englishmen or Britons and Hanoverians . . . there is no danger of its ever being laid aside till the family is sent back to Hanover."

Cardinal Fleury died at the end of January; he had lived to see the disaster he had brought about by his rash attack upon Austria, somewhat redeemed by Marshal Belle-Isle's masterly retreat from Prague, but his offers of peace had been haughtily repulsed by Maria-Theresa, and he left France in the throes of a long and disastrous war. His death was regarded as favourable to the Jacobite cause, as Louis XV. would now, it was hoped, take a greater share in the Government, and some of his ministers were known to be inclined to attempt a Stuart restoration; though, as M. Amelot, Minister of Foreign Affairs, observed to O'Bryan, "It is a grave affair, for the troops would have no retreat in case they missed the stroke."

[1] Coxe's *Walpole*, vol. i. p. 736. After the battle of Dettingen (June 27) Horace Walpole wrote, referring to George II.'s presence there, "What obloquy will not this wipe off?"—*Letter to Horace Mann.*

Two deaths in England affecting the cause occurred about the same time; that of the Duke of Hamilton was looked upon as a great loss,[1] but when the Duchess of Buckingham died a few days later, and it was found that she had named one of Walpole's near relatives—a Mr Hervey—her executor, her connection with that statesman must have been revealed to James. News also came from London that "the poor Duchess and Colonel Cecil had confounded, alarm'd and distracted the whole of the King's friends in England." 1743. April 15.

The first mention of calling Prince Charles Edward to France occurs in a letter from Cardinal Tencin, who says he is secretly working for it; and although James tells O'Bryan he suspects that if the Prince of Wales is sent for without a previous declaration of war against England, "it will mean that they intend to make use of us, instead of assisting us," he determined to let him go. The difficulty was how to get him out of Italy. There was an outbreak of plague at Messina, and consequently quarantine in every port; Italy was swarming with German troops, and English men-of-war hovering about the coast,—"There are three men-of-war at Civita Vecchia now, looking out for Spanish vessels," wrote James to O'Bryan; and the English had also seized Ventimiglia. These circumstances had determined James III., who no longer felt young or vigorous enough—he was in his fifty-fifth year—to undertake a long and difficult journey with the speed its secrecy would render necessary, to send his son and the Duke of Ormonde before him. He had written, after Cardinal Fleury's death, a very able and diplomatic letter to Louis XV., which had caused that monarch to exclaim, "We are of the same blood, he is a descendant of Henri IV.!" This consideration was much strengthened by the loss of the battle of Dettingen, by Louis XV.'s personal animosity against George II. for the breach of the treaty of Hanover, for the assistance he was giving the Austrians, and the depredation committed upon French vessels by English men-of-war. June 10. Sept. 5.

[1] James, fifth Duke of Hamilton

1743. A Mr Butler, an Irishman in the service of France, was sent by Louis XV. on a special secret mission, under the pretence of buying horses, into England. He was taken through the country from one Jacobite house to another; he was furnished with lists of seventy Peers of the realm, ten Bishops, a multitude of country gentlemen, of the Aldermen and Common Council, the wealthy city merchants, who were all ready to do their part; and when he remarked the execration with which mention of George II. and the House of Hanover was received, he could not conceal his astonishment that any Government could maintain itself in a country where it was so universally hated. Butler returned to Fontainebleau early in October with Macgregor of Balhady, and presented his report; Lord Sempill having also presented a Memoir treating of the assembly of the King's friend, the numbers and disposition of the Government troops, and the best landing places for the expedition, which the Jacobites prayed might be under the command of Count Maurice of Saxe and the orders of the Duke of Ormonde. As a result of these memoirs, a descent into England was decided upon, and the methods of its execution were brought under consideration; M.
Nov. 13. Amelot informing Lord Sempill that his most Christian Majesty was resolved to grant the succours demanded of him by the English. Balhady was sent to Rome, and Louis XV. wrote with his own hand to his uncle the King of Spain, 10th December, that he could no longer defer acquainting his Majesty with a secret project he had formed to destroy at one blow the league of the enemies of the House of Bourbon, and to assure Philip V.'s views upon Italy:—

> "I wish to act in perfect concert with your Majesty, and I send herewith a Memoir which will fully explain the project. It can only succeed by its promptitude, the least delay may cause its discovery, and there is not a moment to lose. All is ready for its execution; the squadrons I was fitting out to fulfil my engagements with your Majesty have facilitated the means, and I only await your reply to give my final orders. . ."

The Memoir attached to the above letter set forth the

motives which had induced the French monarch to take the project in hand, and ended as follows :— 1743.

". . . It may likewise happen that, after the debarcation, the Revolution may not be as sudden or as general as is promised; but the least that can result therefrom will be a civil war, which will recall the English troops from the Low Countries. The Courts of Vienna and Turin [the King of Sardinia had entered into alliance with Austria and England][1] will no longer receive subsidies from England and, by acting promptly, those two Courts, reduced to their own resources, may be brought to the terms imposed upon them, provided the conditions are not made unduly severe."[2]

Balhady arrived in Rome on the 17th December, with a verbal summons for the Prince of Wales. How far this call emanated directly from Louis XV. remains a mystery, the clearing up of which would explain that monarch's subsequent behaviour to the young Chevalier of St George. In writing to express his lively gratitude to the French King, James III. uses the following words :—

". . . I candidly avow to your Majesty that my first impulse was to defer my son's departure until I could have received more precise orders and instructions, but considering M. MacGregor's probity and the eminent virtues of your Majesty, I thought I could, on this occasion, deviate from the ordinary rules without risking your disapprobation . . . so I finally determined not to constrain my son's ardour to go where his own honour and your Majesty call him. . . . He will, therefore, in conformity with what M. MacGregor brought, leave about the 12th of next mouth, and, in the meanwhile, the latter will depart to-morrow with the Declarations and other necessary papers to be delivered to M. Amelot. . . ." Dec. 23.

James signed "The Prince's Commission" on the 23rd December :—

"Whereas we have a near prospect of being restored to the throne of our Ancestors by the good inclinations of our Subjects towards us, and by the assistance His Most Christian Majesty is resolved to give us

[1] Treaty of Worms, signed September 13, 1743.

[2] *Louis XV. et les Jacobites. J. Colin, Paris*, 1901. M. Colin gives a full and interesting account, derived from the Archives of the *Affaires Etrangères*, *Guerre*, and *Marine*, of the preparations made in the various French ports for the Fleet M. de Roquefeuil was to command; and he concludes, that if the squadron lately returned from the Ile d'Aix had been put into commission, the French fleet would have greatly outnumbered the ships which the English could have collected in the Channel before the Spring; and that this would almost absolutely have secured the success of the debarcation.

1743. for that effect; and whereas, on account of the present situation of this Country, it will be absolutely impossible for us to be in person at the first setting up of our Royal Standard, and even for some time after; we therefore esteem it for our Service, and the good of our Kingdoms and Dominions, to nominate and appoint . . . our dearest Son, Charles, Prince of Wales, to be sole Regent of our Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of all other our Dominions during our absence . . . requiring all our faithful Subjects to give all due submission and obedience to our Regent aforesaid . . . lastly, we dispense with all formalities, and other omissions that may be herein contained; declaring this our Commission to be as firm and valid . . . as if it had passed our great Seals . . . given under our Sign Manual and Privy Seal at our Court at Rome, ye 23rd day of December 1743, in the 43rd year of our Reign. . . ."

Dec. 25. Writing to the Duke of Ormonde at Avignon, James tells him he does not know when the letter will be delivered as the King of France requires "so great and strict a secrecy, that I was not at liberty to mention anything of it to you before." Louis XV. will take care to send the Duke "all proper lights and instructions," and James need only tell him that the affair has been concerted with people in England, and that Ormonde's old friends have a great share in it.—

"You have already by you a Commission of Regency, in virtue of which you will act until such time as the Prince may join the Expedition, and then you will remain General under him. For it is absolutely impossible for me to join the expedition at present, and I cannot even be sure that the Prince will be able to arrive in time. . . . I am fully persuaded of your zealous and best efforts to serve me, and I shall not be at ease until I embrace you in England. . . ."

The above letter and all instructions will be sent by the King of France, "and so long as you are on this side of the water, I can give you no other instructions but to follow his." James also particularly recommends the Duke to go for "counsel and advice" to the Duke of Beaufort, the Earls of Barrymore and Orrery, Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Sir John Hynde Cotton, and Sir Robert Abdy, also to the Earl of Westmoreland and Lord Cobham.

Meanwhile, as the hour of their deliverance approached, a spirit of timidity spread among the King's friends in England. The very magnitude of the French preparations

seems to have alarmed as well as surprised them. "All our friends thought," wrote Dr Barry, one of their chief agents, "that fishing-boats would have sufficed to carry over the troops, but since the most Christian King's preparations are made under such plausible pretexts that the English Government cannot take umbrage at them, we are delighted that the French fleet should be so considerable." 1743-4

The country gentlemen, at all times readier to toast the King "over the water" in glasses engraved with a rose than to boot and spur on his behalf, urged the inclemency of the season and the badness of the roads, which would impede their progress in mid-winter. A more reasonable objection was the session of Parliament, which would prevent their chief leaders from leaving London without rousing suspicion; whereas, if the expedition was deferred until the chief business of Parliament was over, they could get away without inconvenience. After full consideration they request that the expedition may be postponed until the month of February. Lord Sempill wrote to the same effect, and in compliance with these wishes we find counter-orders from the French Ministry to the Commander of the Port of Dunkerque—from the 20th to the 24th January—and then a letter on the 29th. "There is no appearance that the project in question can take place for the present."

Count Maurice of Saxe was preparing to execute the perilous commission entrusted to him. It was an audacious stroke which eminently suited the temperment and genius of that intrepid soldier on whom fortune seemed incapable of frowning; and it is one of the great disappointments of history that we can never know how the hero of the assault of Prague—a masterpiece of combined hardihood and strategical skill—a captain who was as successful in offensive as in defensive warfare, and whose praise was written by Frederick the Great,[1] would have carried through that critical enterprise. We do know that he sent his own trusted agents to England to gather information as to the country and its military force; the plan he drew up after a careful study of analogous enterprises, especially that which

[1] In his *Histoire de Mon Temps.*

1744. de Ruyter had achieved in the Thames in the time of Charles II., has unfortunately disappeared from the archives of the French war office, but two precious fragments of his minutes remain, and show that he deprecated an advance into the country without securing "*points d'appui*," and that he looked upon that part of Kent, comprised between the straits of Dover and the Thames, as the most favourable ground, with the occupation of Dover and Chatham—to manœuvre between these two towns, and retire to one or the other, according to circumstances. "These are my first ideas, which time and the information to be imported to me on the subject can but rectify.

Archives Affaires Etrangères.

In England, we have Horace Walpole's word that "all is distraction! No union in the Court; no certainty about the House of Commons . . . How will it end? No joy but in the Jacobites."[1]

The hesitation of his friends in England, their messages of delay to the French Court, caused James, as he wrote to Lord Sempill, more vexation than surprise.—

Jan. 2.

> "But matters are too far advanced now to go back or suspend, the King of France has called for the Prince and he shall part . . . The French projects are chiefly grounded upon an immediate expedition upon England, so they would have great ground to complain of us, if at the eve of execution we proposed delays. . . . *Enfin*, I take the case to be *now or never* in relation to France, and we must all act accordingly. . . ."

On the 9th January, James's two sons parted from Rome before daybreak, under pretence of a shooting party at Duke Gaetano's country palace at Cisterna; but the younger alone went there, the elder starting, attended by a single groom, in James's words—"for his long journey" from which his father was never to see his return. All Rome thought both Princes at the *caccia*, and James wrote to the Duke of York on the 16th that the secret was still kept "so delay your return till the 30th . . . it shall be said that there being no Carnival I allowed you eight days longer at the *caccia* . . ." At Massa, the Prince was met by two of his gentlemen, Mr O'Sullivan and Mr Sheridan

[1] Horace Walpole to Horace Mann, October 12th, 1743.

—nephew of Sir Thomas Sheridan—who had travelled by another route, and reached Genoa on the 13th. Ten days later, with a passport obtained by Cardinal Aquaviva, the Spanish Ambassador in Rome, he appeared on board a Catalonian felucca at Antibes, to the great astonishment of the Commandant of the town, M. de Villeneuve, who sent an express to Paris with the news. The Prince expected to be met at Antibes, and wrote to Paris that the Commandant was very polite but could do nothing without orders; so he begs they may be sent at once as there is an English vessel in the port. By way of Avignon and Lyons the young Chevalier of St George reached Paris, and announced his safe arrival to his father. He had given his three companions little or no rest in his impatience to get on:— 1744. Feb. 10.

"And if I had been to go much further I should have been obliged to get them ty'd behind the chase with my Portmantle, for they were quite *rendu* . . . I have mett with all that could be expected from Mr Adams [Louis XV.] who expresses great tenderness and will be careful of all my concerns . . ."

Same to same.

"I am in perfect health, and everything gose to a wish . . . I am very busi in ernest and not in gest as I have been till now, but I do it with great pleasure and attention, it being my duty." Feb. 24.

The following day the Prince went to a small country house at Gravelines, near Dunkerque, there to remain in hiding until the moment of embarkation. Count Maurice of Saxe arrived at the latter town a few days later; and immediately wrote to him, making inquiries for a certain Mr Red, who had been announced to arrive with the latest instructions for the landing in England, bringing with him two Thames pilots. In the same letter the Count informs Charles Edward that M. de Barail's squadron had arrived at Calais, "and we begin our embarcation here at one o'clock; I count upon all being ready the day after to-morrow, and that fortune may favour us sufficiently that we may be able to give Your Royal Highness proofs of our zeal for his service." Charles replied that Mr Red was a March 1.

1744. wealthy landowner in Essex, sent by the King's friends to prove the union among them "and to embark with us." He asks M. de Saxe to have him looked for. Search was made in vain; and some months later it was found that Red, unaccompanied by any pilot, had arrived at Dunkerque; and then seized with panic at the thought of what he had undertaken, fled back to England without divulging his errand or his identity.

Feb. 26. The reports Maurice of Saxe had received from England and through Holland, were very different from the rosy accounts furnished by Lord Sempill and MacGregor of Balhady. As in duty bound he remitted them to M. d'Argenson including an intercepted letter from the Dutch envoy in London to a friend in Amsterdam, stating that from what he could see the appearance of a foreign fleet, instead of provoking a Jacobite rising, would more likely result in uniting the whole nation against the French. At the same time Lord Sempill actually promised Saxe that Captain O'Bryan, commanding the *Royal Sovereign*, would bring his ship to Dunkerque to have the honour to be the first officer to tender his service to the Prince of Wales. In remitting these contradictory reports, the Count observes "it is not for me to make remarks upon them; the military part is all that concerns me." By the 3rd of March all his troops were embarked, and he was ready to start on his enterprise, well knowing its hazardous nature and the uncertain character of the Jacobite preparations for his reception. Lord Marischal, who had arrived at Dunkerque, wrote to Charles Edward, March 1st, "The troops I have seen going to the shoar to be embarkt are cheerful and hearty, so that I make no doubt of their doing well." And the Duke of Ormonde, summoned at last by the French Court, left Avignon in hot haste for Paris the following day.

There was no uncertainty, on the other hand, as to the preparations now being made by the English Government; as soon as the news of the Prince's arrival in France reached London, an express was sent to Holland, followed the next day by General Wentworth, to demand 6000 Dutch troops,

"who will probably be here at the end of next week," wrote Horace Walpole to Horace Mann on the 16th February. Lord Stair, who had retired from the army in disgust, after the last campaign; on George II. showing such "unmeasurable preference for the Hanoverians," now offered his services, and was named Commander-in-chief. 1744.

"Don't be surprised," wrote Walpole in the above letter, "if you hear that this crown is fought for on land. As yet there is no rising; but we must expect it on the first descent. . . . I think I could bear as I should the worst that can happen: though the delays of the French, I don't know from what cause, have not made that likely to happen. . . . I never knew how little I was a Jacobite till it was almost my interest to be one."

"February 23rd. . . . Hitherto the spirit of the Nation is with us. . . . We have got 2000 men from Ireland, and have sent for 2000 more. The Dutch are coming: Lord Stair is General. Nobody is yet taken up —God knows why not! . . . All is at stake; we have great hopes, but they are but hopes. . . ."

There is something pathetic in Prince Charles Edward's letter to Lord Marischal, written immediately before the terrible storm which was to scatter the French fleet, and put an end to the enterprise:— March 5.

"I have the most encouraging accounts possible from the King's friends in England. They are such as would almost, without the assistance of troops, determine me to go amongst them, and relieve his Majesty's subjects, or perish with them. . . . They are certain of my meeting with no resistance . . . but if these accounts of the 4th February are encouraging, the resolution of the Court of France in regard to the orders given to the Count de Saxe are as shocking. These order him to proceed . . . to the mouth of the Thames . . . and there wait for some of our friends and pilots coming aboard . . . and if none appear to return with the troops. The reason for this order is that Mr Red has not come over . . . nor any pilots sent. . . . Such orders do not sit easy on my stomach . . . and if it should unhappily happen that neither pilots nor none of them should come aboard to me, I am determined to be with them, at whatever rate it is, and live and dye with them. . . ."

Four days later Maurice of Saxe wrote to tell the Prince of the accident to the fleet. The number of lives lost is small:—

"But eleven transports are aground, and nearly all the other vessels in the harbour have lost their boats. . . . We have no news of M. de March 8.

1744. Roquefenil [commanding the Brest squadron], who was off the Isle of Wight on the 28th *ultimo*. Your Royal Highness is no doubt aware that Admiral Norris is in the Downs with a fleet of more than twenty ships, and of the preparations the English Government are making. It would be desirable that the party which remains attached to its legitimate sovereign, should acquaint us with what they mean to do, and what they expect from us. I avow with grief to Your Royal Highness that I am absolutely ignorant of what is happening in that respect. . . . I am in despair at the obscurity and the languor reigning over all this affair, desiring nothing more than to give Your Royal Highness proofs of the ardour of my zeal to serve him. . . ."

In sending his report to the French Ministry, accompanied by that of the naval commander, stating that the tents, arms, and baggage were all lost, and that the expedition must of necessity be adjourned, Count Maurice says that the hardest thing will be to persuade the Prince of Wales and his friends of the impossibility of its execution—"they pay no attention to the means, and their hopes have no bounds. . . . I dare not go and see the Prince of Wales, for fear of discovering his retreat, as nobody yet knows where he is. . . ."

The two chief Jacobite leaders, Lord Barrymore and Colonel Cecil, had been arrested, Sir Robert Walpole exclaiming, it is said, when he heard that Cecil had been sent to the Tower, "They have taken up the man who gave me all my information"; and Lord Marischal, in reply to a passionate entreaty from Prince Charles to persuade M. de Roquefenil to attack Admiral Norris, told him that could not be done without a special order from Paris, and that the enterprise had failed for the present—the Habeas Corpus suspended, the chiefs of their party taken up, and many, especially in Scotland, gone into hiding.[1]

March 13. Having received orders from M. d'Argenson that the enterprise was abandoned, Count Maurice informed the Prince of the fact, telling him he could only accuse fate and the winds of the *contretemps*. Two more vessels have gone ashore, and all the circumstances have placed the French

[1] Horace Walpole wrote to Horace Mann, March 1st, that Lord Barrymore and Colonel Cecil were *at last* taken up. "We flatter ourselves that the divisions among the French Ministry will repair what the divisions in our own undo."

King in the necessity of suspending the enterprise and ordering the disembarkation of the troops :— 1744.

> ". . . Your Royal Highness may take it for certain that as soon as the squadron is repaired and re-assembled, and our transports put into order, we shall receive instructions to resume the enterprise. . . ."

He at the same time informs the Prince of his own recall to Versailles, for what purpose he does not know. Louis XV., who declared war against England on the 15th March, sent word to the Prince to come nearer to Paris; but he, in the bitterness of his disappointment, declared he could not obey without another effort to induce the King to let the expedition go on. He wrote in French to Lord Sempill, so that the letter could be shown to the Ministers :— March 15.

> ". . . It is my first entry into the World. . . . It will get known that I was near the place of embarcation, and if I retire without attempting anything, after such fine appearances, the whole world will say that the misfortunes of my Family are attached to all its generations and shall never have an end. . . . In this situation I must use every effort to sustain the hopes of my friends, and if it is impossible to transport the necessary troops into England, the best will be to turn our thoughts to Scotland. . . ." March 15.

The same suggestion had been made by M. Amelot to Lord Marischal, who declared to the Prince that it would mean destruction to attempt anything in Scotland; and that he was leaving Dunkerque to return to his house at Boulogne, near Paris. So Charles Edward remained in hiding at Gravelines, writing to his father :—

> ". . . You may be persuaded that any [no] disappointment whatsoever will ever discourage me, or slaken me in doing what is next best for your service. I have learned from you how to bere with disappointments, and I see it is the only way, which is to submit oneself entirely to the Will of God, and never to be discouraged. . . ." March 26.

CHAPTER XIV

1744. JAMES III.'s anxiety was great for his son. "I confess to
March 18. you," he wrote to Lord Sempill, "that the last week has appeared to me the longest of any I ever passed in my life"; and, when a few weeks later he writes to condole with the Prince upon the abandonment of the expedition, he tells him he will be better with the army in Flanders than in Rome. Louis XV. had in fact determined to take the young Chevalier of St George with him to the campaign, and had summoned him to Paris from Gravelines; most unfortunately, Lord Marischal succeeded in dissuading him from the design under the pretence that it would entirely disgust the English, if the Prince of Wales were to
May 11. serve against them. "He has done all this without telling me,"—wrote Charles indignantly to his father.

Louis XV., who seems to have begun to regret the Prince's presence, intimated, before leaving for Flanders, that he should remain in the strictest incognito near Paris. He therefore took a small house at Montmartre, then a league from Paris, with a little garden and a beautiful
June 1. prospect "where I live like a hermit." James had sent Sir Thomas Sheridan to his son; but the delay of his arrival, on account of the war in Italy, had induced Charles to ask the Duke of Ormonde to let him have George Kelly, the non-juring clergyman who was now the Duke's secretary at Avignon. Ormonde unfortunately complied, and sent the young Prince, in his difficult and painful situation, the worst possible adviser. The continued incognito imposed upon his son filled James III. with apprehension. He wrote to warn him against any rash and desperate measures, "which could only end in your ruin, and in that of all those who joyn you in it." And again,—

"I suppose you will not always be locked up, but whether in publick or in private for God's sake, dear Child, be on your guard, as to wine and play, those are two points of great consequence. . . . I hope you will not give me ye heart break to ever hear you fail in them." 1744. April 15, 22.

At the same time, he wrote to O'Bryan that he could not conceive why the Prince was still kept in hiding. It is getting indecent and he fears there is some rascality, "*friponnerie*" underneath. May 29.

Louis XV. had commenced with the Stuarts the habit of a policy within a policy, of secret agents working under and sometimes against his accredited ministers, which was to develop into the elaborate and fatal system so ably described by the Duc de Broglie in his "Secret du Roi." As a natural consequence Colonel O'Bryan, James III.'s Minister, Cardinal Tencin, the Duke of Ormonde, Lord Marischal and all the other important personages who had been left in ignorance of the late enterprise, were filled with mistrust and jealousies which re-acted upon the young Prince, who stood so greatly in need of wise and careful guidance.

The Prince's incognito might serve the purpose, as Lord Sempill declared, of causing the Dutch troops to be sent out of England, and the English army to be reduced, so that the enterprise could soon be resumed; but its effects upon Charles Edward fulfilled his father's fears. He had not been two months in the irksome idleness of his seclusion, when O'Bryan reported that the Prince had withdrawn his confidence from Sir Thomas Sheridan, that he will not see Lord Marischal, is predisposed against Cardinal Tencin, and has taken MacGregor of Balhady into his entire confidence, going out with him daily. MacGregor is a man of no education or morals, "irreligion pours constantly from his lips," and the Prince's friends are much distressed. They thought of appealing to the Cardinal, but feared to do the Prince harm, so although it takes six weeks to get an answer from Rome, they have decided to put the case before His Majesty to judge what is best to be done."[1] July 3.

[1] Lord Marischal, writing to James from Avignon, Sept. 5th, roundly abused both Balhady and Lord Sempill, attributing to them the fact that the Duke of Ormonde had been kept in the dark, etc.

1744. Charles Edward meanwhile sent Lord Sempill to Louis XV. with a strong letter entreating that he might be allowed to make the campaign in Flanders, to which
Aug. 9. d'Argenson made reply that the Prince must have patience a little longer, and that the King would give him troops for a new expedition as soon as he could spare them. Then came Louis XV.'s serious illness at Metz, and his short-lived repentance for the irregularities of his past life.[1]

The King was attended in his illness by the Bishop of Soissons—eldest son of the first Duke of Berwick by his second wife—who had renounced the title of Duke of Fitz-James to his younger brother, upon entering the Church. He was Charles Edward's natural first cousin and sincerely attached to the Stuart cause, but he was careful to raise no
Sept. 15. false hopes. He wrote to the Prince from Metz that there was no present chance of an expedition; that Louis XV.'s intentions were good, and whatever happened Charles must not return to Rome, which would be the most unfortunate thing he could do.

Undeterred, Charles sent Sir Thomas Sheridan to Metz with letters for the French Ministers. Sir Thomas fell ill at Strasburg, and the Bishop of Soissons delivered the letters, and received the King's answer, which was to refer the Prince to Cardinal Tencin; to whom he accordingly went
Oct. 19. with a request "to be let out of prison, and to have something to live upon, *en attendant le reste*." At the same time Charles suggests to his father to propose to the King of France to allow him to go to Avignon, where he could at least live openly and see people who might be useful.

James, whose distress and perplexity at his son's situation increased with its prolongation, mistrusted the Avignon proposal. It might give the French Court a handle for
Oct. 16. abandoning the Prince, so he had better wait until Louis XV.'s return to Versailles. In a private note of the same date, James tells his son, he is glad to hear he has made his devotions.—

[1] "The King's illness has made him make so many good and pious resolutions, that it is to be hoped he will do his best for the King of England." *Lord Sempill to James III., Aug.* 31.

Prince Charles Edward. 1744.

J. Daullé.

"Our present situation, if taken in a Christian way may, I hope, serve for some small penance, while it should make us yet more sensible of ye great maxim of St Francis of Sales "*tout ce qui n'est point pour l'éternité, n'est que vanité*" 1744.

Before the end of the year, James III. gives his son an account of his own condition :—

"I cannot apply now as I could have done a year or two ago, ffor as for reading or writing myself, I can do very little of either, because the least fixing of my eyes gives me a sort of giddyness in my head. So you see My dear Child, that you are likely to have but an useless old Father in me, but still my Heart is good, and if its being all yours could be of any help to you, that will never faill you." Dec. 15.

The French Court—Louis XV. returned to Paris at the end of November—had no objection to the Prince going to Avignon; they even advised it, but as d'Argenson and Maurepas held out hopes that by the end of December all would be ready for a new expediton—Thames pilots having been caught and imprisoned so as to be ready when wanted—Charles determined to remain where he was. The Bishop of Soissons had offered him his country house of Fitz-James, seven posts from Paris on the Calais road and convenient, as the Prince put it, for receiving puckles,[1] for a winter residence; and Sir Thomas Sheridan, gives it as his opinion that the whole mystery of the incognito was in order to make "the burden as light to themselves as possible. . . . They care little where he is, provided it is not in Paris," and Sheridan is of opinion that they mean to do nothing as to the expedition, "nor are in a position to do so, even if they would." Dec. 21.

The burden had not been as light as could have been wished. Cardinal Tencin was shocked to find that the Prince had indebted himself, some months previously, to the amount of 30,000 *livres*, which had probably doubled since then. "I shall never dare ask the King of France for such a sum," he complained to O'Bryan, "and the people about the Prince must have very little common-sense so to conduct his affairs . . . he will lose himself here, if some order is not introduced into them."

Charles Edward's incognito had not been so strict as

[1] Messengers. The term often appears in the Jacobite correspondence.

1744-5. to prevent him from frequenting the Opera and taking a share in the amusements of Paris, and the prospect of a winter at Fitz-James gives him forebodings that he
Jan. 3. may have the spleen: "But I would go into a tub like Diogenes iff necessary," he assures his father. During the last few days of his stay in Paris, he seems to have enjoyed himself greatly. Colonel O'Bryan gave a dinner in his honour "to all that was most distinguished in the three kingdoms;" most of his French relations entertained him, his uncle, the Duc de Bouillon,[1] and the Prince of Turenne receiving him at supper and taking him afterwards to the masked ball at the Opera. Louis XV. did not see him.

The intelligence which continued to reach Paris from Jacobite sources in England must have considerably increased Charles Edward's wrathful impatience with the French Government. That they were not greatly exaggerated seems plain from Horace Walpole's letters. "Unless the French are as much their own foes as we are our own," he wrote to Mann on the 11th June 1744, "I don't see what shall hinder the Festival of to-day [George II.'s birthday] being kept next year a day sooner" [James II.'s birthday]. "For our own force," he continues, "it is too melancholy to mention; six regiments go away to-morrow to Ostend with the 6000 Dutch. . . . When these troops are gone, we shall not have in the whole island above 6000 men." And on Marshal de Belle-Isle being accidentally taken prisoner while changing horses on Hanoverian territory and sent
Jan. 4. to England, Walpole observes that he will be "no bad General to be ready to head the Jacobites. . . ."

The unfortunate Emperor Charles VII., worn-out with suffering and disappointment, died in the month of January; James thinks his death may facilitate peace in Germany—Frederick the Great at the head of 60,000 men had entered Bohemia and taken Prague after ten days' siege, on the 16th August—"and set the King of France free to attack the Elector of Hanover." Charles

[1] The Duc de Bouillon had married the Princess Casimira Sobieska.

Edward, while shooting and diverting himself at Fitz-James, with an occasional visit to Paris, and receiving "puckles" from England, was gradually coming to his own conclusions, which were not complimentary to many of his adherents. People were not to be depended upon. He wrote to his father: "The truth of the matter is that our friends in England are affred of their own shaddo, and think of little else but of diverting themselves; otherwise we would not want the King of France." A few days later he complains of Sempill's bad management of their affairs.—"I see here everybody thinks himself the wizest man in the world."

1744-5.

Feb. 21.

Feb. 28.

Important news came to him from Scotland: the Duke of Hamilton would advance money, and would "live and dye with you."[1] Lord Elcho is on his way to Paris with a plan to seize several forts, and the Prince is urged to send for Lord Marischal. As rumours of an attempt, without troops, upon Scotland reach James's ears, he is alarmed for his son, no doubt remembering his own experiences thirty years earlier. He writes to Lord Sempill that the people who raise those ideas, do so in ignorance of the true state of affairs; he hopes the King of France will never consent, and "it is well known how much averse to it I should be. . . . Use your endeavours to refuse so dangerous a scheme." James also writes strongly, but not more sharply than the occasion required, of the divisions among the Jacobites:—

March 6.

> "pursued with so much passion and blindness as not to see that by ruining us and our affairs, they make it yet more impossible that these very passions should be satisfied they are so intent to gratify. But too much on this disagreeable subject, which affects me too much, and on which it is very useless for me to enlarge. . . . ."

March 8.

Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford, died on the 18th March, in his sixty-ninth year, and the Jacobite King makes no other comment upon the death of the chief and most relentless of his foes, than to say it would be a great loss to the Elector of Hanover. It has been

[1] James, 6th Duke of Hamilton, who died 1758.

1745. truly said that if Walpole had remained in power the events now about to occur; and which, with a little help from France, would have undone the labours of his long administration, would never have taken place, so great had been his vigilance, so complete the system of espionage with which he had surrounded the Stuarts and their adherents.

The Battle of Fontenoy was fought on the 22nd May; Maurice of Saxe, now a Marshal of France, wresting the victory from the Duke of Cumberland, whom Horace Walpole pitied, "for it is almost the first battle of consequence we have ever lost . . . *hors de combat* above 7300 of the English, Hanoverians, and Dutch." "If the French will not assist us now," wrote James to Lord Sempill, "we have no more to expect of them." Charles Edward had not waited to see what the French would do; he had taken matters into his own hands, for which it is difficult to blame him. He had been more than a year in France, and Louis XV. had again positively refused his request to be allowed to make a campaign in Flanders. He had informed his father in March that he had borrowed 40,000 *livres* from Waters, the banker in Paris, to buy swords for the Highlanders, and to send them some money. He also asks his father to pawn all his [Charles's] jewels: "For on this side the water I would wear them with a very sore heart thinking that there might be made a better use for them." He also begs for a credit from the King that he may have a sum of money ready for an emergency. On the 12th June he wrote a letter of eight folio pages to his father which he sent by a special messenger and which would give him "a great surprise."—About six months ago his friends in Scotland had invited him to go over with what arms and ammunition he could, as the only way of restoring his father to the crown; they knew how scandalously the French Court had behaved, and Charles saw plainly that if he did not go they would rise of themselves in spite of all he could do to prevent it, preferring "to dye in ye field" than to live longer "in misery and oppression."

"I answered, you may believe, not backwardly. I mean as to my own person; but told them I esteemed my life no further than it would be of use to them." At the same time he told them not to be rash, and that he still had great hopes from the Court of France; but they persisted in their bad opinion of France, and he feared some of his friends would do some *coup de désespoir*, so he assured them he would not let them do anything without his presence. He would prefer to die with them than continue in France in so miserable a way, or returning to Rome "which would be just giving up all hopes." 1745.

"I cannot but mention a parable here which is; a Horse that is to be solde [which] iff spurrd does not skip or shew some signe of Life, nobody would care to have him even for nothing; just so my Friends would care very little to have me, iff after such usage which all the world is sensible of, I should not shew them that I had Life in me. Your Majesty cannot disapprove a son's following the example of his Father; you yourself did the like in the year 15, but the circumstances now are indeed very different, by being much more encouraging . . . I have presumed to take upon me the managing all this without even letting you suspect there was any such thing a Brewing . . . had I failed to convince you . . . you might have thought what I had a mind to do, to be Rash, and so have absolutely forbid my proceedings. . . . I have tried all possible means and stratagems to get access to the King of France, without the least effect . . . As for the Cardinal, he is not much trusted, . . . by the King, who is timorous, and has not resolution enough to displace him. . . . I have taken all the necessary precautions . . . to engage the French Court to give me without loss of time the succours I desire which, if they do immediately, every 100 will be worth 1000. . . . Lord Sempil and Balhady will do all in their power . . . to hinder me from getting such succours as would complet the work . . . they have been doing all they can to destroy my caracter . . . by representing me as a Child, and guided by indiscreet silly people. . . . I have so well blinded them that they have been always persuaded I swallod everything they said, and did not know them. I have sent Stafford to Spain and appointed Sir Thomas Geraldine to demand succours in my name . . . I sent letters to the King and Queen, written in the most engaging terms. . . . Let what will happen, the Stroke is struck, and I have taken a firm resolution . . . to stand my ground as long as I shall have a man remaining with me."

"I think it of the greatest importance that your Majesty should come as soon as possible to Avignon, but take the liberty to advise you should not ask leave of the French Court . . . It is most certain the Generality of People will judge of this enterprise by the success, which if favourable, I will get more Honour than I deserve, if otherwise all the blame will be

1745. put on the French Court, for having push'd a young Prince to show his mettle . . . Whatever happens unfortunate to me, cannot but be the strongest engagements to the French Court to pursue your cause; . . . Your Majesty may now see my reason for pressing so much to pawn my jewels, which I should be glad to have done immediately; for I never intend to come back, and money, next to troops, will be of the greatest help to me. I owe old Waters about 60,000 *livres*, and young one about 120,000, and Sir Thomas will write to Edgar more fully about these matters... I have writ to Lord Marischal telling him to come to me immediately . . . to the Duke of Ormonde I have writ a civil letter . . . leaving it to his own discretion so to do."

The letter ends by pointing to the favourable circumstances of the Elector's absence from England, of the battle of Fontenoy and the consequent withdrawal of troops from England. Charles asks his father to obtain the Pope's blessing,—

"But what I chiefly ask is your own, which I hope will procure me that of God Almighty upon my endeavours to serve you, my family, and my Country; which will ever be the only view of Your Majesty's most Dutiful son."—Ch. *P.*

The Prince's letter to Edgar gives a short and clear account of his preparations; he has purchased 1500 guns, 1000 broadswords:—

". . . Powder, Ball, Flints, Durks, Brandy, &c., and some hundreds more of fusils and broadswords, of which I cannot at present tell the exact number . . . 20 small field pieces, two of which a mule can carry, and my cassette is 4000 *louis d'or*; all these things will go in the Frigate which carrys myself, she has 20 guns and is an excellent sailor. It will appear strange to you how I got these things without the knowledge of the French Court. I employed one Rutledge and one Walch,[1] who are subjects, the first got the grant of a Man-of-War from the French King to cruise on the Coast of Scotland, and is luckily obliged to go as far North as I do. . . . Walch understands his business and is an excellent Seaman; he has offered to go with me, the vessel being his own . . .; he has also a Man-of-War that will likewise go with me if she can be got ready in time, and a frigate of 44 guns which he took lately from the English. . . . Adieu, friend, I hope it will not be long before you hear comfortable news. . . . *P.S.*—I intend to land at, or about the Isle of Mull."

That while apparently stag-hunting at the Duc de

[1] James III. made Routledge a Baronet, and Walsh an Earl, for these services.

Bouillon's country-seat—Navarre—Charles Edward should have been able to make such preparations, not only without the knowledge of the French Court, but unknown to O'Bryan, Sempill, etc., proves that he had considerable business capacity as well as determination of character. A few days later he wrote to his father :— 1745.

"St Lazaire at the Mouth of ye Loire, ye 2 *July* 1745.

"Sir,—The contrary winds . . . have delayed my embarking, which will be this afternoon at 7," [he here mentions his escort, a ship of 68 guns and 700 seamen] "as also a company of 60 voluntiers, all gentlemen, whom I will probably geat to land with me, I mean to stay, which, tho' few, will make a shew, they having a pretty uniform. . . . We have nothing to do now but to hope in the Almighty's favouring us, and recompensing our troubles. . . . I hope in God, my next will bring favourable news. . . ."

From the moment Prince Charles Edward, in his swift sailer the *Doutelle*, slipped by while his escort, the *Elizabeth* engaged the English man-of-war who tried to stop them, the history of the '45 has been so often and so fully related, that we need concern ourselves only with James III.'s acts after receiving the news of his son's departure. He first paid the money Charles had borrowed, adding to it all he could spare, and what he could obtain from the Pope ; and wrote to Lord Sempill that he feared there was little room to hope the Prince would succeed except if vigorously supported by France :—

" . . . Therefore we must all of us in our different spheres leave nothing undone for that effect. . . . We must be . . . more than ever solely and wholly intent on the great object, . . . to look forward, and not to blame what is past. . . . I never should have advised the Prince to take such a step, but since it is taken it must be supported, and whatever the event, it will certainly turn much to the Prince's personal honour. . . . The usage he met with in France, and the dread of a Peace, were no doubt strong motives to push him on . . . the Prince's example will, I hope, animate our friends in England, he has ventured generously for them. . . ." Aug. 11.

Fully convinced that without prompt assistance from abroad, his son's gallant attempt would fail, James III. wrote to the Kings of France and Spain, and to their

1745. chief ministers, entreating them to send a succour of troops to his son; and when informing Louis XV. that the Duke of York was starting for Avignon, there to await the Most Christian King's instructions, he announces his own intended abdication :—

Aug. 11. "... Your Majesty has long been informed of my views in regard to a renunciation of my rights in favour of my Son. ... It is now indispensable and necessary, my infirmities increasing with my years [James was in his 58th year], and I should be acting with temerity, and I may say with little good faith, if I were to pretend to charge myself with the cares of Government when I am incapable of any fatigue, either of body or mind, and consequently in no state to fulfil the duties of a Prince on the throne. ..."

James thinks the proper time for publishing his renunciation will be when his son is happily landed, but he will do nothing without the agreement of Louis XV. When sending the same information to O'Bryan, he adds that he hopes his act may facilitate the Prince's enterprise, but at the same time there must be no question of any *arrangement* :—

Sept. 20. "... It is an act I must take purely and simply, and we shall then all depend upon the generosity and goodness of the Prince; I know him, and on that article we may all be at rest, although I hope, in one fashion or another, to be still able to prove to you, and a few more on this side of the water, that you will have lost nothing by a change of masters. ... Humanly speaking, if a reasonable corps of troops is not sent to help the Prince, his enterprise cannot succeed."

France and Spain appeared to be shaken out of their indifference by the young Chevalier of St George's hardy
Aug. 1. stroke. Prince Campo Florido, the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, was instructed to inform Louis XV. that the King of Spain was ready to co-operate in all his measures with regard to the Prince, to whom the Ambassador wrote he had reason to hope the Irish Brigade would be told off for the expedition. Cardinal Tencin was busy, and the Duc de Richelieu had asked permission to command the expedition. Father Cruise, an Irish secret agent of France, was sent with instructions to Marshal Belle-Isle, who was still confined in Windsor Castle, and Louis XV. wrote an autograph letter to the Prince from Choisy, 24th

September, addressing him "Mon Frère," and accrediting the Marquis d'Eguilar to him, to explain his sentiments, "and to let you know how ready I am to give you, on all occasions, marks of my affection for your person." But cabals were strong among the French Ministers, the Duc de Richelieu against d'Argenson, whose slowness was feared by the Jacobites; Marshal de Belle-Isle, on his release from captivity in August, and Marshal de Noailles were strongly in favour of an immediate attempt, and some money and arms were actually dispatched to Scotland. "If it is true," writes James, "that there are only 6000 troops in Britain, it ought to be a great encouragement to the French to act." 1745.

It was true; Horace Walpole, writing on the 5th August of the French troops at Dunkerque, says: "Against this force we have—I don't know what—scarce fears! 3000 Dutch [for the Dutch troops lately sent back had been recalled] we hope are by now landed in Scotland; 3000 more are coming hither, we have 15 men-of-war in the Downs." "Lord, 'tis the 1st August 1745," he had written a few days earlier, "a holiday that is going to be turned out of the almanack!" [accession of the House of Hanover]. "I am persuaded," he writes the same day, "that when Count Saxe, with 10,000 men, is within a day's march of London, people will be hiring windows at Charing Cross and Cheapside to see him pass!" Fortunately for the House of Hanover, Maurice of Saxe was commanding the French force in Flanders, taking all the strong fortresses one by one, "gathering laurels and towns and prisoners, as one would a nosegay," wrote Walpole. "Our army is running away, all that's left to run; for half of it is picked up 300 and 400 at a time."[1] Had the hero of Fontenoy, instead of a carpet-knight like Richelieu, been entrusted with the task of succouring the Prince by a diversion in England, it is impossible to believe that he would not have carried his point.

The Duke of York, after pawning his jewels for his brother's service, started secretly from Rome on the 29th

[1] Letters to Sir Horace Mann.

1745. of August for Avignon, attended by Mr John Constable. James, writing to appoint Sir John Graeme to join the Duke, sent him private instructions, through Colonel O'Bryan, with regard to the two Princes. There had been cabals in Rome, Strickland and Towneley trying to set the Prince and Duke at variance. Meaning to please people in England,—

Aug. 30. "they made profession of a certain spirit of irreligion, and tried to catch my children in the same sentiments. . . . The Prince's great vivacity, his taste for all kinds of diversion, and a certain liking he then had for wine, made them think they had won him . . . and he became their hero. . . ."

So Sir John Graeme must be on his guard, and prepared to act with judgment and care.

Louis XV. had advised James III. to wait and see how affairs went with his son before taking the step of renouncing in his favour.

Sept. 27. "I own I languish to be after taking it," [he writes to the Duke of York,] "but God forbid I should do anything that might anyways prejudice you or your brother, for whose sake I have suffered already so much, and am ready to suffer more. . . . As to our great Affair, I really believe both France and Spain will do what they can to assist your Brother. . . . I came here [Albano] on Thursday morning tête-à-tête with Folette in my Green chair. . . ."

A few days later he writes again:—

"The weather is fine and a number of people have come out, but all places are melancholly to me when I have not my Bairns about me, for though I thought I loved them a great dale, yet I did not think it was so much as I now feel it. . . ." [1]

As soon as Walsh had landed the Prince, he returned to France, sending word at once, 14th September, to James
Sept. 21. that he had left him at the head of 5000 men. A few days later, M. d'Heguerty, a fervent French Jacobite of Irish extraction, sent "the agreeable news of General Cope's defeat by His Royal Highness."

The Prince himself sent the following account:—

[1] James Edgar wrote at the same time to the Duke, "besides my anxiety for the Prince and his success, this house appears very dull, especially at night, when the Billiard and Musick rooms are quite dark, without one light in either of them."

"EDINBURGH, *7th Oct.* 1745.

"It is impossible for me to give you a distinct gurnal of my proceedings, becase of my being so much hurrid with busines . . .; but notwithstanding I cannot let slip this occasion of giving a short account of the Battle of Gladsmuir, fought on the 21st September, which was one of the moste surprising actions that ever was; Wee gained a complete victory over General Cope, who commanded 3000 fut and to Regiments of ye best Dragons in the Island, he being advantagiosly posted, with also Baterys of Cannon and Mortars, wee having neither hors or Artilery with us, being to attack them in their post, and obliged to pas before their noses in a defile and bog. Only our first line had occasion to engage, for actually in five minutes ye fild was clired of ye Enemy, all ye fut killed, wounded or taken prisoners, and of ye hors only to hundred eskaped like rabets one by one; on our side wee only losed 100 men between killed and wounded, and ye Army afterwards had a fine plunder. . . ." [1]

The Stuart papers reveal the quarrels among the Jacobites in Paris, as well as the dissensions and hesitations of the French Court, by which precious time was lost, allowing the Dutch troops to arrive in England and in Scotland; so that Horace Walpole, recovering from his fears, could write to Mann on the 21st October, "The non-arrival of any French or Spanish [forces] makes me conceive great hopes of getting over this ugly business." And the Foreign Ministers in London write to their Courts of the news from Scotland, and at the same time of the arrival of the Dutch troops. "There are, since the arrival of the Dutch, between 13 and 14,000 regular troops in England," reports the Marquis Doria, Minister of Genoa in London. Denmark was also applied to for aid by the English Government.

[1] Duke of Newcastle to Duke of Cumberland [in Flanders], Sept. 25, 1745:—". . . Your Royal Highness will hear the melancholy account of the entire defeat of the King's army under Sir J. Cope. Dragoons and Foot did as ill as possible; and now there is no army between Scotland and London. The Pretender having entirely got possession of the whole Kingdom of Scotland, except the Castle of Edinburgh . . . which it is thought cannot hold out long; and Sir J. Cope being now thoroughly defeated . . . will I hope justify the . . . humble applications of Your Royal Highness's faithful servants here for a considerable reinforcement from your Army. For had not the reinforcements providentially arrived the day before the news came of Sir J. Cope's defeat the Confusion in the City of London would not have been to be described, and the King's crown (I will venture to say) in the utmost danger. . . ."—*Brit. Mus.*, *Newcastle Papers*, Add. MSS. 32,705 (213).

1745. The Prince's next letter to his father is dated Edinburgh, October 18:—

> "I am confounded and penetrated with so much goodness and tenderness Your Majesty expresses to me. . . . I wish to God I may find my brother landed in England, by the time I enter it, which will be in about ten days, having then with me near 8000 men and 300 hors at least, with which as matters stand, I shall have one desisive stroke for't; but if ye French [don't] land, perhaps none. I cannot enlarge on this subject . . . for want of time. . . . I am sending off three or four expresses [to Louis XV.] all to the same purpose,—pressing to have succor in all heste by a landing in England. . . . Thank God, I am in perfect Health, but longing much for ye Happy Day of Meeting. . . ."

Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 32,804 (30).

English gold was not without its influence in the confusion and delays of the French Ministry. The Newcastle Papers show that thousands of pounds sterling were sent to one person, designated as "Janson" or "101," and Marshal de Belle-Isle bluntly accuses Cardinal Tencin of being sold to England.[1] Time was wasted in drawing up a treaty between Louis XV. and James as King of Scotland; and the French King's first words to the Duke of York, on his arrival in Paris, were to question him closely as to the names of the chief members of the King's party in England, for which the young Duke referred him to Lord Clancarty.[2] Lord John Drummond was able to sail for Scotland with 1000 men, arms and money, and Lord Derwentwater started with a few gentlemen "to make a strong diversion in his own country."[3] Immense admiration for the gallant young Prince spread through France and over all Europe. Voltaire asked Colonel O'Bryan for details of his arrival in Scotland, in order to write his panegyric; his achievement was compared to those of Gustavus Vasa and Charles XII. of Sweden. But to all these glowing accounts his father had but one comment: "Unless they send him a succour of troops, it is all no use,"

Oct. 23.

Oct. 17.

[1] *Testament Politique du Maréchal Duc de Belle-Isle.* Published in 1661, and suppressed the following year.

[2] Robert Maccarty, 5th Earl of Clancarty [1685-1769]. Walpole calls him "a Scotchman of great parts, but mad and drunken, and whose family forfeited £90,000 for King James." Louis XV. made him Vice-Admiral at Brest.

[3] Charles, 5th Earl of Derwentwater, born 1692, condemned to death in 1716, escaped from Newgate, and beheaded on Tower Hill, December 8, 1746.

and "Verily, the French are acting very languidly and slowly." The Duke of York sent him news of the arrival of messengers from the Prince; he has 12,000 effective men with him, and a hundred invitations from England; many people have sent him money, one person in the North of England has sent him £12,000. 1745-6. Nov. 22.

James III. had sent the Duke of Ormonde a commission of Captain-General under the two Princes, but the Duke of York found him a wreck on arriving at Avignon; and, in the midst of his preparations for starting for Paris, the gallant soldier and faithful servant, who had needed but a sterner fibre in his courage to do great things for his king, died in the actual hope that thirty years of exile were about to end in the often-promised happy meeting at home.

At last the French troops for the expedition were assembled, with the young Duke of York, at Boulogne; but the English fleet had had ample time to block the French ports, and "the difficulty of passing the troops is so great," writes George Kelly to Edgar, "that I almost despair of their getting over it." Jan. 14.

". . . This is the most terrible misfortune that could happen, and will, I fear, distress the Prince to the last degree. All hopes of sending from hence and Calais are certainly vain, and I wait with impatience to know what new schemes they may form; because I shall then contrive to join H.R.H., if possible, to inform him how matters stand."

Next came the news of the advance to Derby; and the retreat, upon finding that no succour of troops had arrived from France, and then Sir Thomas Sheridan's account to O'Bryan of the battle of Falkirk:—

"BANNOCKBURN, *Jan. 21st*, 1746.

". . . The Prince slept in the bed which had been prepared for General Hawley, and supped on a sirloin which had been put on the spit for his Excellency. You can guess if it tasted good. We found 600 dead on the field, and took about as many prisoners, among whom were several officers. They left us seven pieces of artillery, three mortars and a large quantity of ammunition. The soldiers enriched themselves with gold and silver watches and purses full of guineas. Lord John Drummond has been slightly wounded, and Lochiel's two sons.

"To come to the bottom of the business, we are like the old man who

1746. said 'thank God, I am in good health, but I shall soon be dead.' The French can alter the end of the saying by sending an expedition. . . . Obliged so often to risk all our hopes and the precious life of the Prince upon the uncertain issue of a battle—if we lose it, all is over with us; if we win, we gain a few weeks' respite, and all must be done over again. . . ."

Again, on the 8th February, comes an impassioned cry for help:—"For the second time, the delay in the promised succour has forced us to retreat in mid-career. For the love of God what are they doing?" And on the $\frac{16}{27}$ March, from Inverness: "The Prince means to give battle if the Duke of Cumberland will fight. If not, to pass him *à la dérobé* and march to London."[1]

March 29. Before Culloden was fought, James feared that all was lost in Scotland,—"and really, all things considered," he wrote to the Duke of York, "it is a greater wonder that did not happen sooner than that it should be the case now." His chief anxiety was for his son's safety, hoping that all proper means would be afforded for him to leave Scotland, when he could do no further good there. This, the Duke is to lose no opportunity of urging upon the Court of France, taking care to conceal from Louis XV. and his Ministers "our being sensible that the Prince's miscarrying in this enterprise is manifestly owing to their being so long in assisting him." Some of the British Jacobites in France were so unmeasured in their denunciation of the French Government that James exclaimed,
April 5. "Would to God they were all in their own country; were they even in the Elector of Hanover's army, I believe they would do us less hurt there than as it is."

There was a prejudice against the Duke of York among certain Jacobites, partly on account of his failure, for which he was in no way culpable, to carry a French force into England; and partly from his exact observance

[1] The Newcastle Ministry resigned office—for a few days only—on the 10th February, and the Duke of Cumberland wrote to the Duke from Edinburgh: "I tremble for the old Whig cause that fix'd us here, and that must suport us here. . . ." The Duke of Richmond wrote on the same occasion to the Duke of Newcastle: "My Lord Granville must have a new Parliament, and that I fear will be a Jacobite one, and then '*adieu pannier*,'"* etc.—*Brit. Mus.*, Add. MSS. 32,706 (140) (157), *Newcastle Papers.*

* *La Fontaine's Fable "Pirrette et le Pot-au-lait."*

of his religious duties. They disliked his "marks of piety," Sir J. Graeme particularly lamenting that the English at all times feared a young Prince "who was too devout." When the Duke found that there was no hope of the expedition starting for England, he left Boulogne, and asked leave to join the French army in Flanders. He moved to Arras, determined to make a campaign, "with or without permission," under the name of Count of Albany. He was kindly received by Marshal Maurice of Saxe, who promised to hide him if the French Court made difficulties about letting him serve. "He offered me the help of his horses and of everything I could want, with a great deal of politeness." Louis XV saw the young Duke on his way through Arras to the seat of war, and gave him permission to join the Count of Clermont at the siege of Antwerp. "I need not tell your Majesty," wrote Sir John Graeme, after the Duke's first engagement, "that the Duke kept the best countenance in the world, and walk'd as upright and straight as he would have done at 10 miles' distance from canon-shot. . . ." [1] 1746.

The news of the battle of Culloden, fought on the 16th April, does not seem to have reached Rome before the end of May. It was known in Paris before the 16th, and at Ghent by the 20th. The French Court really exerted itself, sending ship after ship, not only from French ports, but from Holland, and even from Gothenburg, to run the gauntlet of the watchful English fleet, and to attempt to bring off the defeated Prince and his followers. From his camp at Bouchonte, Louis XV. sent a letter through the Marquis d'Argenson to Van Hoëy, the Dutch Ambassador in London; to be communicated to the English Court on behalf of the young Prince, united by ties of kindred to the King of France, and whose valour and courage had earned the esteem of Europe.—

"It is to be hoped the moderation and clemency of the King of England will not permit the last rigours of the law to be exercised against those persons, of all conditions, who, at a time of trouble and

Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 32,805 (106).

[1] Louis XV. retracted his permission shortly afterwards, and the young Duke regretfully retired to Navarre.

1746. confusion, had followed the standards, which have now succumbed before the English arms, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland. . . . If, contrary to all expectation, the liberty of Prince Edward, or the lives of his partisans were endangered, it could easily be conceived how great would be the spirit of animosity and the fury awakened by such rigour. . . . According to the answer received by the Ambassador, the King of France will know what resolutions to take "conformable to his own glory and the dignity of his Crown. His Majesty sincerely hopes the King of England will set him no other examples to follow but those of humanity and mercy."

As might have been expected, this overture was received with great haughtiness. Van Hoëy, in sending the letter to the Duke of Newcastle, expressed the hope that "honey might flow from his lips" in persuading George II. to treat the vanquished tenderly; but Newcastle's answer was to express "the last astonishment" of his sovereign, at a proceeding so contrary to his honour and the dignity of his crown; and to intimate that a complaint had already been made to the States General of the step their Ambassador had taken.

James III. sent his thanks to Louis XV. for the letter to Van Hoëy, and his first letter to his son after the news of Culloden is full of tenderness and anxiety:—

"ALBANO, *June 6th*, 1746.

"God knows where or when this will find you, my dearest Carluccio, but still I cannot but write to you in the great pain and anxiety I am in for you . . . do not, for God's sake, drive things too far, but think of your own safety, on which so much depends. Though your Enterprise should miscarry, the honor you have gained by it will always stick to you, it will make you be respected and considered abroad . . . and always engage the French to protect and assist you, and to renew in time another project in your favour. . . . *Enfin*, my dear Child, never separate prudence and courage. Providence has wonderfully assisted you hitherto, and will not abandon you for the time to come. . . ."

James continued to write by every post to the well-beloved son who was lurking among the Islands, the price of £50,000 upon his head; and whose chief thought—as O'Sullivan informed the Duke of York, after his own escape to France by way of Bergen,—"in all his greatest miseries and dangers," was of the anxiety his father and

brother would feel, "never thinking of himself in the least." 1746.

Louis XV. kept ordering more frigates to be dispatched, and so many Jacobites were successfully brought away, that it began to be supposed that the Prince had resolved to stay in Scotland. Had he wanted to leave, wrote Cardinal Tencin to James, he could surely have done so, as well as the infinite number of persons who had got away. The French Court, already inclining, especially since the death of Philip V. (July 9th), to thoughts of a Peace, proposed an establishment for the Jacobite Prince of Wales, by creating him Duke of Navarre; but James III. could not accept such a proposal for his eldest son, though he was willing to entertain the idea for the Duke of York. Louis XV. and his ministers were also striving to save some of the gentlemen condemned as rebels, by exchanging them for English prisoners of war. It was hoped to save Lord Derwentwater by this means, and Lord Morton was offered in exchange; but though George II., according to Horace Walpole, "was inclined to some mercy," the Duke of Cumberland, who, according to the same authority, "had not so much of Cæsar after a victory as in gaining it," was for the utmost severity.

A few days before receiving the news that John Murray of Broughton, Charles's secretary, had turned King's evidence to save his own life, "suffering the apprehension of death to get the better of his honour," as Sir Thomas Sheridan put it, James received the following letter from Lord Balmerino:—

"TOWER OF LONDON, 17*th August* 1746.

". . . Sir, When His Royal Highness the Prince your Son came to Edinburgh, as it was my bounden and indispensable duty, I joined Him, for which I am to lose my head on a scaffold to-morrow. Whereat I am so far from being dismayed, that it gives me great satisfaction and peace of mind to Die in so Righteous a Cause. I hope, Sir, on these considerations, Your Majesty will provide for my Wife, so as she may not want bread . . . I having nothing in the world to give Her. . . .

"Your Majesty's most faithfull and most devoted Subject and Servant, BALMERINO."

Six months had elapsed after the battle of Culloden,

1746. when Captain Richard Warren, who, with four frigates at his command, had been indefatigable in his efforts to reach the Prince, was able to write to James III. from Roscoff in Lower Brittany, on the 10th October, that he had "that moment landed him safely in that port at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, after a crowd of dangers scarce to be imagined by sea and land."[1]

Charles wrote a few lines to his father and a letter to the Duke of York, desiring him to arrange a meeting with the King of France as soon as possible "for to bring things to a write head." Sir John Graeme sent the gratifying news that the Prince had arrived in perfect health and high spirits :—

Oct. 17.

> "Though the fatigues, the want of all necessarys, and the dangers he has undergone are beyond imagination, yet he looks as well as when I had the honour to see him more than two years ago. Nothing was ever so tender as his first interview with the Duke. . . . There are come over with him Lochiel, his brother Dr Cameron, Lochgary, and Roy Stewart. He has also one Macdonald of Barestal, against whom there were proofs that his intentions were treacherous, and has recommended him to the care of the Indendant of Brittany. . . ."

The French Court was at Fontainebleau, where the two Princes were lodged and very sumptuously entertained. "All this is very brilliant," remarks O'Bryan, "but I see nothing very solid as yet. . . . Sunday—the Princes are to sup with Madame de Pompadour this evening."

Charles Edward had returned to France a changed man. The qualities which would have developed and blossomed in success, had been soured and warped by a revulsion of fortune which the strongest of men could hardly have borne without loss of balance or poise of mind. He who, in his father's words, had been the most open and generous of Princes, had grown suspicious and distrustful of all but two or three unworthy associates who flattered his passions and applauded his whims ; while he adopted a tone of arrogance towards the Court of France which dismayed O'Bryan, and scared Sir John Graeme into sending James III. his resignation from the Duke's service before

[1] James III. conferred a baronetcy upon Warren in 1746. He died 1775.

the Prince had been a week in Paris. His first appearance at the Opera was the signal of a prolonged ovation which greatly pleased him, and no doubt confirmed him in his line of conduct founded "on an ill-understood system," wrote the Duke of York to his father, "of pretended popularity which . . . it will be next to impossible to root out." "He is shy of O'Bryan and the Cardinal (Tencin), and puts his whole confidence in Kelly; the clique and their dependants have sway." 1746. Oct. 31.

Charles disquieted his brother by joking him on the regularity of his life, and tried to win him to disorders like his own; George Kelly, minister of religion though he was, loudly applauding and abetting him. Sir Thomas Sheridan had been summoned to Rome by James III., and died there soon after his arrival. His influence over his old pupil, though James had been displeased with his share in the Scottish enterprise, would have done something to correct that of Kelly "and his gang," as the Duke of York described them.

Louis XV., under his own hand, had appointed the Hotel de Marmontel at Berry, and a pension of 12,000 livres a month for the two Princes. Charles, who had expected to be lodged at the Luxembourg or at Vincennes, was highly indignant, refused to believe a word of it, and described it to his father as "a most scandalous arrangement for us."—

> ". . . I am absolutely convinced that the only way of dealing with this —— government is to give them as short and smart answers as one can, at the same time paying them in their own coin by loding them with civilitys and compliments setting apart business, for that kind of vermin the more you give them the more they take. . . ." Nov. 6.

He dictated, word for word, notes for M. d'Argenson to O'Bryan, such as the forms of diplomacy had never known; and which drew forth replies from the astonished minister such as the following: "The message M. le Dran carried was by my order, and my orders were from the King of France; let us therefore, I pray you, cease further discussions which would serve no good purpose." Louis XV. at first behaved indulgently towards the Prince, admitting

1746. him to secret interviews; which, however, failed to induce him to accept either the house or the pension allotted him; and his anger at the release of Lady Morton—who had been in the Bastille with her husband—without his consent, shows the footing of equality with the King of France upon which he had placed himself. He desired his brother to marry:—

Nov. 27. ". . . His marriage I take to be of the last consequence; for my opinion is I cannot as yet marry unless I got ye King's Dauter, which is in vain to ask at present, and am affrede will always be the same until ye Almighty restores yr Majesty . . . which makes it absolutely necessary Hickson [the Duke] should not lose a minit's time; for he can do it *sans consequence*. . . . If Prince Radzivil has any daughters of age, I should not think one of them to be an unfitt match . . . one of that country would be more agreable to our nation than any other."

Charles's own letters, even more than the perplexed and regretful reports of the Duke of York and Colonel O'Bryan, convinced James III. that his son had embarked upon a fatal policy. He bids him beware of shocking and provoking the French Court:—

Dec. 2. "Our misfortunes hinder us from being on an equal footing with them; they cannot but feel it, and we cannot expect that they should have the same respect for us as if we were in England; and how are we ever to get there without their good-will and assistance? . . . believe me there is nothing to be got by hectoring them."

The French ministers spoke kindly of the young Prince, "badly counselled and inexperienced"; but when a proposal—strongly supported by Cardinal Tencin and the Marquis d'Argenson—was made to give him 6000 troops and some ships for another attempt upon Scotland, the Duc de Noailles and M. de Maurepas objected that with the Prince's way of thinking, he would be more dangerous to France on the throne of England than the Elector of Hanover. In sending this information to James, O'Bryan says he dares not speak of it to His Royal
Dec. 31. Highness. A few days later he refers again to the inclination of the French Court for a fresh expedition; and that they would like the Prince to apply to them on the matter; but he is bent upon doing nothing until they apply

to him. Lochiel and O'Sullivan are much distressed, but there is nothing to be done. Cardinal Tencin even took it upon himself to counsel O'Bryan to accept the pension for the Prince without his knowledge. "It would be better to do so."[1] 1746-7.

The Duke of York's position was becoming untenable; he could no more acquiesce in his brother's policy than in his mode of life, and he was constantly being reproached by him for giving his confidence to O'Bryan and to Cardinal Tencin. He was therefore anxious to leave Paris, and his father applied to the Court of Madrid for permission for him to go to Spain.

Needless to say, Charles complained of the Duke's want of confidence and "taking everything amiss."

"I am so tormented that were it only for my helth, I shal be obliged to retire, besides other reasons which I shall explain as soon as I can be out of this." Jan. 16.

At the same time he wrote to Louis XV. to point out that everybody was now convinced of what he was sure of from the first—that a very small succour from France would have made his last expedition successful. He had come to France to represent the case of his faithful subjects, hoping to make a more successful attempt than that of last year—

> "but as the situation I am in at Paris does not correspond to the good reception Your Majesty accorded me at Fontainebleau . . . which will be interpreted in a manner unfavourable to Your Majesty's honour, and still more so to mine, I have resolved to retire from France. . . ."

The letter ends with the assurance that whenever the French King determines upon making an expedition to England, Charles will return to place himself at the head of it.

Leaving instructions to the Duke of York to remain in Paris, and to have Lord George Murray arrested and sent to the Bastille if he should come to France, "as he is a very dangerous man," Charles started for Avignon on the

[1] The Prince continued to refuse the French pension of 12,000 *livres* a month, as inadequate.

1747. 25th January, taking George Kelly, O'Sullivan, Cameron, a man of the name of Whar, and Sheridan with him. The Duke went next day to Louis XV. and was kindly received,
Feb. 6. but could not help noticing that every time he mentioned the Prince, the King looked grave.

A few days after his brother's departure, the Duke of York wrote an important letter to the King his father, laying open his heart to him, telling him of his desire to enter the Church, and of his repugnance to the thought of marrying. His "inclination has always been more or less" towards the Church, but he remits all to God Almighty in the first place, and to his father in the second place; having so great a confidence in his advice that "were it never so much" against his inclination, he would not be easy till he followed it. This letter must have reached Rome almost simultaneously with Mr O'Sullivan, despatched from Avignon by Prince Charles Edward with letters to acquaint his father that he was at once starting for Spain. It can do no harm, and he has not asked leave for fear it should be refused.

"One does more business in one hour's conversation than in a year's writing." In case he can get nothing essential out of the Spaniards, he can be back in time for an expedition if France determines upon it, for nothing can be done before the month of April. Perhaps he will be able to make a match with one of the Infantas of Spain. The letter has a P.S.: "I never intend to give myself reste either in minde or body until I faile, or bring off our Business."

Charles Edward's stay in Spain was short. He was kindly received by King Ferdinand and his Queen, but was told that, in the delicate circumstances of the time, their Majesties could not press him to prolong his stay; and by the 27th March he had returned to Paris. His next move, after making a fresh appeal to Louis XV. and his ministers for troops, was to submit to his harassed father an idea which had been rolling in his head "ever since that unfortunate battle"—nothing less than to propose to the Czarina Elizabeth, her marriage portion to be 20,000

troops landed in England. "She is of an adventurous character and might like the idea." James could only reply by asking him how he could hope that a simple and blunt proposal of marriage could succeed with the Czarina, when she was so united to the Elector of Hanover that she would not so much as allow Lord Marischal to stay in her country? The only result of such a step would be to give "but an indifferent opinion of those who direct your Councils." 1747.

James III. took little time for consideration before sending his hearty consent and approval to the Duke of York's entering the Church; and Cardinal Tencin—according to Marshal de Belle-Isle, in order to please his patron George II.—hastened to help the young Duke to escape secretly from Paris, unknown to the Prince, and even to O'Bryan, sending his own valet as his escort to Rome. The Duke left a letter for his brother, bidding him farewell, and apologising for going away without acquainting him with his intention; and a few weeks later the King their father wrote to inform the Prince that the Duke of York would be made a cardinal a few days later.—In the natural course of events the Prince should have been consulted, but as both the Duke and James III. were unalterably determined, and foresaw that he might raise objections, they thought it best to act before his answer could arrive, which would leave him free to say that he knew nothing about it. The King hopes he will make no *éclat*; there is no doubt of the Duke's vocation, and his father would be acting against his conscience to oppose it. The Duke wrote the same day expressing the hope that the step he was taking would never alter Charles's affection for him. He will remain unalterably the same.

April 20.

June 13.

James III. must have been inwardly convinced that his cause had become hopeless, before he could have looked upon his younger son as absolved from all obligations towards those, whom he still regarded as his subjects. The news was received with consternation; even the courtier-like Colonel O'Bryan could only reply that he was born to approve all the King chose to do. Catholics and Pro-

1747. testants, clergy and laity were equally dismayed, looking upon the step as a greater misfortune than the loss of
July 15. Culloden. A Scotch priest, writing to James himself, describes it as causing general distraction and confusion among all his friends; they are unanimously agreed that it is a mortal deadly stroke to the cause, especially at this present juncture:—

> "I am heartily grieved to say it, of all the conjectures offered, not one is favourable to your Majesty's person or Cause. The People at Home were never so ripe, so well disposed, nor in greater hopes of another successful attempt. H.R.H. the Prince (I am told) shutt himself up for several hours alone upon hearing the news; the Duke's health is no more drunk, nor his name mentioned at his table. . . ."

If, to James III., fifty years of baffled effort and repeated disappointment had dimmed the vision of realm and sovereignty to a faint and intangible shadow; it was not so with the young and ardent Prince who, but a few months before, had reigned almost supreme in Scotland, served with passionate attachment by its people, and convinced that the fatal day of Culloden might yet be retrieved. It is not surprising, therefore, that he should exclaim that a dagger through his heart could not have been more sensible to him than the contents of the King's letter; he hopes His Majesty will forgive him for not entering further on so disagreeable a subject, "the shock of which I am scarce out of."

"Though I cannot help loving the Duke," he wrote a few days later, "which has always been, along with your cause, the occasion of all our quarrels, it will be impossible for me now to have any commerce with him." To this resolution, notwithstanding the Duke's attempts at reconciliation, the Prince adhered for eighteen years.

CHAPTER XV

LORD DUNBAR had obtained James III.'s leave to retire to Avignon, where his sister, Lady Inverness, had remained since her husband's death. Lord Stormont, Dunbar's brother, had entered George II.'s service—he was English envoy at Warsaw a few years later, and ambassador at Vienna—which had raised fresh outcries among the Jacobites; and James had moreover disapproved of late years of Dunbar's influence upon Prince Charles Edward. Colonel O'Bryan was summoned to Rome to fill Dunbar's place, and was desired to take up the title of Earl of Lismore, which had been conferred upon him a few years previously. O'Bryan's presence in Paris was useless to the Prince, who scorned his advice, looked upon him as one of his worst enemies, and accused him of having connived at the Duke of York's departure from France. On the other hand, Charles was henceforth to look upon everything coming from Rome as inspired by O'Bryan. 1747-8.

Lord George Murray, on his escape from Scotland, had made his way to Rome. Charles had immediately asked his father to have him secured and placed "in some castle where he would be at his ease, but without being able to escape, or have liberty of pen or paper," as it was not to be conceived "what work his cunning and deceitful ways would make among some of our people." James gave Murray a pension of 400 *livres* a month, and begged the Prince not to treat him badly when he passed through Paris on his way to Cleves; where he intended to take up his quarters, as it might have very bad consequences with the generality of people. Charles, however, refused to see him, and sent him a message by Mr Stafford requesting him to leave Paris.[1]

[1] It is interesting to find that M. d'Eguilar, who had been Louis XV.'s agent with Charles during his campaign in Scotland, had a bad opinion of Lord

1747-8. Charles had also asked his father to appoint Sir John Graeme, whom he described as "a very worthy and honest subject, well deserving Your Majesty's regard," as O'Bryan's successor in Paris, but James's letter to Graeme on the subject caused him to retire at once to Avignon. These incidents did not tend to heal the smart caused by the Duke of York's entering the ecclesiastical state; and it is not surprising to find a short note from the Prince, regretting that having nothing that would be agreeable to write, July 24. or His Majesty to read, "this makes my letter shorter." His letters of three or four lines, from this time forward, remind us forcibly of those written by his mother from the Convent of St Cecilia; as ill-written and ill-spelt, mentioning nothing but health and the weather, and with the same elaborately submissive subscription. Charles had inherited to the full his mother's indomitable obstinacy, the short-sightedness of her policy, and the attitude of defiance to the whole world except two or three unworthy and ill-chosen confidants. The Queen's "Roman rebellion," and the Prince of Wales's attitude towards his father were almost identical in their characteristics; but in the latter's case there was not the deep conscientiousness which, once awakened, redeemed the lapse of duty. And in both, there was a curious thread of truth in their contentions—Lord Inverness's obnoxiousness to the English Jacobites had been proved within a fortnight of his return to Rome, and James had learned to regret Lord Dunbar's influence upon his children. So now, while he congratulated himself upon having established his younger son safely in the purple, and provided, by the rich benefices he obtained for him in France, Spain and Italy, against an irksome dependence upon the Prince after his own death, the injury done to his cause in the minds of the Jacobites—"the almost universal dislike among all our country-men," wrote George Inese, successor to his uncle, Lewis Inese, as Principal of the

George Murray. He described him, in answer to James's enquiries, as brave, talented, and full of resource, but whose honesty did not correspond to his other qualities; and he looked upon him as one of the chief causes of the Prince's failure.—*Stuart Papers*, Windsor, June 24, 1748.

Scotch College, "all unanimously crying out against what has been done"—spread and deepened as time went on.[1] The mutual affection between father and son remained unaltered, and it is pleasant to find Charles, at this very time, sitting for his miniature "by a skilful hand" to send to his father. 1747-8. Sept. 8.

Charles conceived the idea of rectifying the impression caused by his Cardinal brother, by taking a Protestant wife. He summoned Sir John Graeme hastily and secretly from Avignon; and sent him on an abortive mission to Hesse-Darmstadt in the hope of obtaining the hand of the Grand-Duke's daughter. Feb. 27.

The war of the Austrian Succession had lasted eight years, and all Europe sighed for peace. A congress was called at Aix-la-Chapelle, and the preliminaries were signed in May. Charles, as Prince Regent for his father, had sent a very well-expressed protest, which was printed and widely spread, against the usurpation of Hanover, but the stipulations agreed to in the treaty renouncing the Pretender were more strongly expressed than even in the Quadruple Alliance.[2] The fate of his son sorely troubled James III.; receiving no answer to his questions as to where he would go upon being turned out of France, James tried a new agent, against whom the Prince could have no preventions —the Bailli de Tencin. Charles received him kindly, spoke with great affection of the King his father, but would say nothing of his affairs; talked of shooting-parties, and gave no inkling as to his intentions. "Unfortunately," wrote Tencin, "the time is drawing nigh when they will have to be known." Aug. 11.

A few days later, a paper was sent by the French Ministry to the Prince, reminding him of the terms of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and requesting him to retire from the French Dominions. Charles answered the Mar-

[1] The Jacobite resentment is proved by the fact that, from first to last, none of James's adherents ever gave the Duke of York the title of Cardinal. James alone wrote of him as "the Cardinal Duke."

[2] Elizabeth Farnese got Parma and Piacenza for her second son, Don Philip, but not Tuscany. England derived little advantage beyond the Assiento Treaty for four years, and was left with a debt raised to 80 millions.

1748. quis de Puysieulx, who had succeeded d'Argenson as Minister of Foreign Affairs, as follows:—He begs to tell
Aug. 20. him that, by his Declaration of the 15th July, he opposes, and has opposed, everything stipulated in the treaty:—

> ". . . I regard this conjuncture as more critical for the interests of the Most Christian King than for my own: Assure his Majesty of all my respect; I hope to prove to him that his true interests are dearer to me than to his Ministers. . . ."

Nov. 6. On a further summons, three months later, from the Duc de Gesvres, in the name of the King of France, the audacious Prince refers him to his letter to de Puysieulx, regretting that, on this occasion, he is forced to resist the intentions of the Most Christian King.

The French Court was seriously embarrassed; there was still such a halo of romance and gallantry about the young Prince, whom Maurice of Saxe himself had dubbed "the hero of the century," that measures of force would be odious to the whole country.

Brit. Mus., "Gualterio Papers," Add. MSS. 20,662 (121).

General Bulkeley, son of Lady Sophia Bulkeley, who had been Queen Mary of Modena's lady-in-waiting, and who was one of the most fervent of the English Jacobites in the French service, sent the Prince the draft of a letter to Louis XV., "as absolutely necessary at the present con-
Nov. 4. juncture." Charles's answer was, "*Quod dixi dixi quod scripsi scripsi.*" His letter to his father at this crucial moment ran: "I receive yours of ye 15th October. Having nothing worth mentioning at present; I lay myself at Your Majesty's feet."

Nov. 23. The English Ambassador continued to press the French Ministers; and they appealed to James III., who wrote a severe letter to his son, in French, and which was immediately published in Paris, expressing his grief and surprise at the terms of his letter of the 6th November to the Duc de Gesvres, and ordering him, as his King and his father, to conform himself to the intentions of the King of France. The Prince having refused the retreat prepared for him in Switzerland [at Fribourg], James presumes he has secured one elsewhere. What would he gain by an *éclat*? Nothing but a name and character which would cause him to

lose in a moment all the reputation he had acquired, "for virtue and courage which do not prove themselves prudent and wise in adversity, can never be considered solid or true."[1] 1748.

Instead of going away, Charles had sent Louis XV. a plan for the invasion of England; and Marshal de Belle-Isle invited him to a secret interview with Cardinal de Bernis and himself at Versailles, on the 27th November. His scheme failed to satisfy them, for on the 10th December, after several messengers had been sent to warn him of the hour fixed for his arrest, he was seized at the doors of the Opera, and carried to the Castle of Vincennes. A faithful Jacobite, George Flint, wrote to James Edgar that he had entreated the Prince to leave Paris. "He looked at me kindly, seemed pleased, nodded and went away. Five hours later he was taken up." A letter to a Dr Meighan at Florence, dated Paris, December 23, gives an interesting account of the event:—

". . . The Duc de Gesvres, who has almost as much head as a sparrow, then became the negociator, and many others did their best. The King his father's letter . . . was thought an efficacious means, but he did not, or would not, believe it to be his, and to this day I doubt whether he has read it. . . . The generality of People wondered at the reproaches therein made him. . . . He went to the Opera, the 10th, at 5 and a quarter, where were Sergeants of the Blue Guards disguised, with their Major, M. de Vandreuil, and some Captains. When got into the *cul-de-sac*, the barrier was drawn, and the doors of the Opera shut. The Sergeants raised him from the ground and carried him into a Room of a Surgeon of the Duke of Orleans. They took two pocket-pistols and a knife from him, and were preparing to tye him with a black riband three fingers broad, and 36 ells long. He offered his parole to hurt neither himself or any other, and said so many were enough to contain one man disarmed. The Major went to the Duc de Biron, who was in a post-chaise in the Court, to go give the account at Versailles; came back and tyed him in five places, his upper arms close to his body, his hands behind his back, round his waist, his thighs and his legs. Thus they put him into a Coach, the Major and two Captains with him, four Grenadiers behind, and two before, their bayonets screwed. In the way they asked for his parole, which he refused as they had refused it before, and said he'd not wonder to be so treated, had he been at Hanover. At Vincennes they carried him to the Tower, 54 steps high. The Marquis du Chatelet, the governor and his friend, call'd for the Major's

[1] This letter was endorsed—"Never seen by the Prince."

1748-9. orders, untyed the Prince and treated him with all possible respect and care. . . . The 15th, in the morning, he went off with Messrs Stafford and Sheridan, and an officer of Mousquetaires. He stay'd at Fontainebleau the 16th, the 17th arrived at Auxerres, and is supposed arrived the 21st at Lyons, and the next day at Pont Beauvoisin. The three gentlemen that went with him to the Opera were put into the Bastille, and five others that were by chance in his house. . . . It is impossible to say how unanimous the resentment was in People of all States here for the Prince's being so used, they say it has produced the same effect in England. The creatures of the Ministry will have it that his head was turned, and that he was determined to kill himself . . . but this is a test—they gave him his arms at going away. . . ."

Charles Edward's head was not turned in the sense the French Ministry gave out; still dazzled with the brilliancy of the brief sun of his prosperity he had tried to wrest fortune to his will, and had lost both her and himself. He had known the ecstasy of victory in battle, had seen his foes fly before his face, until the very eve of the frightful reverse of Culloden; for months he had reigned as Prince Regent supreme from end to end of Scotland. He had lodged at Holyrood, and had ridden "up and down the Canongate" with the flush of triumph on his brow, beneath the white rose in his bonnet,[1] with the smile and the thrill of mutual affection and loyalty passing between him and the shouting multitude, which hailed him as deliverer and chief. What wonder, that having quaffed so deep of triumph and power, he could not return to the patient posture of a suppliant, that he attempted to try conclusions with the King of France, or that in the utter revulsion of his fortunes, like a wounded animal which snaps at every hand extended towards it, he had nothing but bitterness and defiance, cloaked in dissimulation, to offer to all the world? Let this be the excuse for all that followed, for of him we are tempted to say—"*tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner.*"

After sending a message to his friends through General Bulkeley from Fontainebleau that he was very well, and that his head had never left his shoulders; and writing to Sir James Harington and Colonel Goring to express his concern

[1] The Prince wore the rose in the front of his bonnet; his gentlemen wore theirs at the side.

at their arrest—they had been with him at the Opera—the Prince, disguised as an officer of the *Royale Irlandais* Regiment, appeared suddenly by Lord Dunbar's bedside at Avignon, at 7 o'clock in the morning of the 27th December. "Our charming Prince is here" wrote Lady Inverness to James Edgar:— 1749. Jan. 15.

> "The affection the French have shown him is not to be expressed:—there have been lampoons against the Government posted upon all the publick places of Paris; and it runs so high att Court that there are orders that the Prince's name should not be mentioned in the Dauphin's apartment. Cardinal de Tencin is the execration of all manhood, the Dauphin (as is assured) said that he never would speak to him in his life . . . in short, the Princes and Princesses, the nobility and the people are all united upon this occasion."[1]

The Prince wrote a short note to his father from Avignon, established Mr Stafford and Mr Sheridan with his servants and goods at a house he had taken there; and suddenly disappeared, after establishing a correspondence with Waters, the banker in Paris, under the name of Baron John Douglas; and with Sir James Harington, ordering him to meet him at Venice. James III. heard from him from thence on the 26th May, and at his request tried to obtain permission for him to remain in Venetian territory, but in vain. Before disappearing again, he wrote to M. de Steinville, Austrian Ambassador in Paris, a tentative letter as to the possibility of being permitted to pass into Austria. He also wrote, equally in vain, to Lord Marischal, who was then at Berlin, in high favour with the King of Prussia. Every two or three weeks he sent short notes to the King, his father; or to Edgar, giving news of his health, but always without giving his address. Feb. 26.

General Bulkeley, in the name of all his friends, wrote imploring him "to come out of the dark" and, as no other country in Europe could, or would receive him, to go to Bologna where he might live openly and with dignity;—

[1] The Marquis du Chatelet, Governor of Vincennes, in reply to Charles's letter after his departure, made great expressions of unalterable attachment, and sent his daughter's grateful acknowledgment of the Prince's remembrance of her. 20th February.

1749-50. his roving about was giving great uneasiness. Charles paid no heed to these entreaties; he sent Colonel Goring to England in August, to give an account of his situation, and to obtain exact tidings as to what his friends were prepared to do. He wrote in cypher at the end of Goring's instructions: "I shall conquer. My name shall be John Douglas."

Charles had left Venice before Sir James Harington arrived; so, after waiting some time, the latter went on to Rome, where he was much surprised to find that the King knew nothing about his son. James was pleased with Harington, whom he found zealous and honest, but unacquainted with any of the Prince's secrets. He learned from him that money was sent plentifully from England, and gathered that those who sent it must direct Charles's steps.[1]

The bewildered Jacobites appealed to James, as they had already done several times since the Prince's return
Oct. 26. from Scotland. The Duke of Beaufort,[2] Sir Watkin Williams Wynn and others sent him word that although since the death of Lord Barrymore [in 1747] they were without a leader, they were ready to rise in a body, if troops were once landed. A deputation from Scotland, consisting of Sir Hector Maclaine, young Glengarry and Lochgary
May 5. arrived in Rome to lay proposals and lists of persons before the King; but James, now in his sixty-third year and broken in health, could only tell them to put down their proposals in writing, which he sent through Waters, the banker, to the Prince, "who would take what steps he thought fit."

Charles, upon receiving his father's packet, sent one of his servants to Rome for further information. The man was so bound by secrecy to reveal nothing of his master's whereabouts, nor satisfy the King's curiosity for news of his son, that as James wrote: "I could not in decency see
Aug. 4. him." The messenger had brought a request for a new

[1] James had made over to the Prince the income derived from Queen Mary of Modena's possessions in France. The Prince declined to receive his own money from Rome, preferring to let it remain in his father's hands.

[2] Charles Noel Somerset, 4th Duke, "a most determined and unwavering Jacobite."—*Horace Walpole.*

Power of Regency, and while sending it the distressed father complained :— 1750.

> ". . . The treatment you give me is a continual heart-break to me, but it excites my compassion more than my anger, because I will always be persuaded that you are deluded; if you seem to forget that I am your father, I can never forget that you are my son . . . and therefore I send you with pleasure the Commission you want, in hopes that it may be soon of use to you, and that so great a mark of my goodness at this time may touch your heart and open your eyes. . . . Do not treat others as you do me, by expecting friendship and favours from them, while you do all that is necessary to disgust them, for you must not expect that anybody else will make you the returns I do."

In returning thanks for the Commission, and stating the opinion that the list of names from Scotland would be of no great use; Charles remarks that he is sorry to find "His Majesty is prejudiced against the most dutiful of sons." Aug. 25.

The most dutiful of sons was meditating a step which, if known to his father, would have overwhelmed him with grief—the sacrifice of his religion to his ambition. Armed with his renewed Power of Regency he went to London; the fact is established by the Stuart papers, although the date of his arrival is not clear,—it was probably early in October. By December strange rumours reached Paris.—"If you know anything of H.R.H.," wrote General Bulkeley to Waters the banker, on the 11th, "please communicate it to me. I ask no questions either where he is, or what he intends to do, all that I would know is whether he is well." Waters answered—"I am entirely ignorant of H.R.H.'s present situation," and when enclosing Bulkeley's note to James Edgar, says he is very anxious himself, as the Prince's last letter to him was dated 30th September; he had answered on the 12th November, enclosing the Roman packet; but to his surprise the letters were brought back unopened on the 23rd, since which he had heard nothing from Mr Douglas or his messengers. Dec. 14.

Charles seems to have returned to the Continent at the end of December, for among his papers we find a letter from "John Dixon," one of his chief correspondents in England, dated "London, December 27th."—"All your

1750-1. friends miss you very much, and long more and more to see you, or at least to hear from you frequently." And again, January 14th, "I hope the newspapers come to your hands regularly . . . they have not been once omitted since you left us." The same letter speaks of the progress of his affairs, and of the anxiety of some lady to see him again, "I verily believe if you stay much longer abroad [she] will come herself and fetch you home." And yet again, in a letter of August 5th, "Dixon" says how much they miss him.—"You were always the life of the company."

Meanwhile, before receiving Waters' alarming report, James had written to his son on the 30th December, "To-morrow you end your thirtieth year, may you live to see double the number." He urges him to secure the succession of the family by marrying:—

> ". . . I cannot think you so selfish as to have yourself only in view in all you do and suffer, the happiness of our Country must undoubtedly be your motive, and by consequence you would never surely restrict that happiness to your own life only, but endeavour to perpetuate it by a succession of lawful kings."

Feb. 24. To this appeal the Prince replied:—

> ". . . I cannot think it selfish to hinder others from suffering what he himself [Charles] feels at present, without counting the past and the future. . . . He never intends giving up the attempt to regain what is his due—the only thing that would remove all difficulties. . . ." [1]

After this exchange of letters, direct correspondence between James and his eldest son appears to have ceased for a considerable time. News of the Prince came regularly, however, to Edgar from Sir James Harington, who had now returned to Avignon, where the Prince maintained a considerable establishment of servants, carriages, and horses, which he never visited. Waters also sent regular news of his health, but James never learned in what part of Europe he was living.

In the month of September, the world was startled

[1] The Stuart papers throw no new light upon the report that the Prince abjured the Catholic faith in St Bartholomew's Church; but we have it under his own hand that he had turned Protestant; and had been in London in the year 1750. His first letters to Waters and to Sheridan at Avignon after his return are dated 31st December 1750.

by the arrival of Lord Marischal in Paris, as Prussian Ambassador to the Court of France. He informed James III. that he had explained to Frederick the Great that his attachment to his own sovereign would compel him to leave the Prussian service, should there be a reasonable scheme for a Restoration: "He writ me a most kind letter, but not a direct answer. Some days after, he declared his nomination at table, with the Queen and others." 1751. Oct. 11.

The English Minister in Paris, Colonel Yorke, received instructions to have nothing to do with Lord Marischal, and not to return his visit should he make one; and Colonel Goring, on behalf of Prince Charles Edward, had a secret interview with him a few days after his arrival. Frederick had no war upon his hands at this moment. He had a profound dislike for his uncle George II.; he had spoken with enthusiasm, in May 1746, at Dresden, before thirty people at table, of the prowess of the young Prince who was so distinguishing himself in Scotland—"*il faut avouer que c'est un grand homme*"—and upon Marischal's first arrival in Berlin, he had questioned him long and closely about the Jacobite Prince of Wales. Frederick, the Hanoverian Prince of Wales, had died in April; and the heir to the throne was a boy of thirteen years of age, while George II.'s health was considered extremely precarious. It is possible that the vision which had tempted Charles XII. and Peter the Great; which that other great captain of the age, Maurice of Saxe, had been on the point of realising, may have appealed to the adventurous side of Frederick's nature; while the political importance of checking Hanover by separating it from England, may not have been without its attraction. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 20,662 (121).

He was not the man to appoint as his Ambassador, in Paris of all places, where Jacobitism was so deep-rooted, the man who, since the Duke of Ormonde's death, represented Jacobitism in its most militant aspect, through any haphazard selection. Thus argued the Courts of Europe, and the fact that the first rumours that Charles Edward had conformed to the Church of England were spread from

1751. Berlin, did not allay speculation abroad or uneasiness at the English Court; while it was confidently asserted that Archibald Cameron, who was afterwards arrested in Scotland and executed, had been sent by the King of Prussia to provoke a rising.

The Jacobites in London approached the new Ambassador; and they represented so strong a party that he secretly opened negotiations between them and Charles, through Colonel Goring. George II. was in Hanover, and a certain *coup* had been planned in London, the exact nature of which we do not know. Lord Marischal, to whom it was submitted, condemned it as too hazardous; but the real obstacle lay in the Prince's own conduct. After his return from London, Charles's downward course became headlong; disappointed, remorseful perhaps for an act which the Protestants themselves condemned as a miserable trafficking with his conscience,[1] he seems to have alternated between accesses of raging anger and despairing depression; while the libations with which he dulled the smart of his distresses, grew ever larger and larger.[2] He resumed his hidden life—he was in, and near, Paris during the autumn and winter—and he proposed, if he did not hold, a meeting with Lord Marischal in September. There is a long memorandum in his hand as to different persons to be trusted, ships, arms, etc.; and another:—". . . My writing to Lord Marischal—going to Turki on a desperate resolution against ye Great Turk."

Charles was no longer alone in his wanderings; Clementina Walkinshaw, whom his mother had held at the font, who had probably been his little playmate in Rome, whom he had met in Scotland, and whose promise he held, that if things went badly with him she would share his exile and

[1] An Italian letter from London, of the 22nd September, refers to an inquiry from Hanover, to the Regents in London, as to the truth of the rumour of the Prince's reconciliation to the Church of England. "The fact . . . is not regarded with indifference by the King and his Ministers, for though the public in general would look upon such a step with contempt, what annoys the Court is the suspicion that it may be the work of the Prussian, which would cause *imbarazzi*."

[2] Upon his return to Italy after his father's death, Charles returned to the Catholic faith.

Clementina Walkinshaw,

from the painting by Benjamin Wilson 1750.

misfortunes, had kept her word.[1] It is probable that she returned with him from England at the end of 1750; she had certainly thrown in her lot with him in 1751-2. There is no evidence whatever that she betrayed his secrets to the English Court; but the fact that her sister held a post in the household of the Dowager Princess of Wales at Leicester House, was more than sufficient to give great umbrage to the Jacobites in England; the more so, that the rumour was spread that her connection with the Prince had been brought about by the traitor Murray of Broughton, who had brought Lord Lovat's head to the scaffold. 1751-2.

Rumours of Charles's change of religion reached Rome. Waters mentioned them, but as unworthy of credit; and the Pope was informed of them through Cardinal Tencin. The Prince had a difficult part to play. Janus-like, he had to turn a Protestant face towards those whom he thought to gain in England, while carefully concealing it from the rest of Europe; and this fact made it practically impossible for him to come out of his obscurity and live in an open manner.

While his eldest son continued to cause him grief and disappointment, a momentary falling out occurred between James III. and the Duke of York in the summer of 1752. The kindest and most indulgent of fathers, James appears to have considered it incumbent upon him to be something of a martinet, and to keep all appointments under his own control. Cardinal though he was, the Duke continued to live in his father's palace, and differences arose among their retainers, which led to an order from James to his son to dismiss Monsignor Larcari, his *maestro di camera*, who was supposed to be "pushing to have the direction of all." The young Duke retired for a while to Bologna; writing from there in very affectionate and submissive terms, that his absence from Rome had "never proceeded from the

[1] Clementina was the tenth child of Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, an ardent Jacobite. According to her letters among the Stuart papers, she was a woman of considerable education and some good sense. She was about Charles's own age, as she is described in the *signalement* he sent out for her recovery after she had left him in 1760, as about forty years of age, fair, of ordinary height, a thin face and freckled.

1752-3. least want of respect, but on the contrary by a just and reasonable anxiety of not losing your good graces." The *maestro di camera* was dismissed, and no other cloud ever arose between James and his younger son. The latter's sojourn at Bologna was the occasion of an interesting

Sept. 13. "description of the Duke of York," from the pen of Louis Riva, a member of the family of Riva, who had served Queen Mary of Modena in England and in Paris:—

> ". . . He is a true picture of his grandfather James II., and of Queen Mary his grandmother, and of his aunt Princess Louise. . . . He has a great knowledge and exquisite gusto in science, and in liberal arts, wherein he exceeds, in some measure, professors. He goes often to the Institute, where he takes much delight. . . ."

Dec. 19. At the end of the year, James Edgar, who describes the Prince's long incognito as "one of the most surprising things that ever happened in the world," writes to him, through Waters, of the King's concern at his silence, having been now a year-and-a-half without direct news of him. There is a sum of more than 4000 *scudi* at his disposal, and it is a pity it should remain idle. "Nothing can alter His Majesty's paternal affection for the Prince."

Charles made no answer to this letter, and in the following July, James III. informed Cardinal Valeti that he had not heard from his son for more than two years. Charles was in considerable straits for money at the time, constantly applying for funds from England;[1] but he neither touched his Roman revenues, the French pension which accumulated in Waters' hands, nor a large sum in gold he had left at Avignon in the charge of Stafford and Sheridan.

The death of Archibald Cameron, June 7th, 1753, was a sensible grief to James III., who had hoped till the last that the English Government "would not have pushed things so far." James was never again to have the same cause for

[1] The stream was running dry: on two occasions "John Dixon" sends, with many apologies for the smallness of the sum, remittances of £10, instead of former hundreds and thousands. "We shall miss you extremely these long winter evenings," he writes on one occasion, "every party at whist or quadrille puts us in mind of you."

grief, for Cameron was the last to shed his blood on the scaffold for the Stuart cause.[1] 1753-4.

Sir John Græme had written privately to the King about his son, asking that his letter might be burned as soon as read. James in his reply says :—

"I should not so much as know he were alive, did I not hear sometimes, from second or third hands, that those who have some share in his confidence say he is in good health . . . I cannot suppose the case of his acting entirely of his own head, and conclude, I think with reason, that he has all along received both money and advice from England, though I am, I own, in great doubt and fear as to the sincerity and zeal of such counsellors. . . ." Sept.

Meanwhile the negotiations between Charles and Lord Marischal were coming to an abrupt and lamentable conclusion. Colonel Goring, who with a Mr Doson, or Dawson, had charge of them, fell under the Prince's furious displeasure by refusing to charge himself with the dismissal of all Charles's "Papist servants" from Avignon. Goring, who was himself a Protestant, expostulates :—

"It may indeed please some few biggotted Protestants, for all religions have their biggotts, but may it not disgust the great number of the people, to see you discard faithfull men, for some of them went through all dangers with you in Scotland, upon account of their religion? . . . You will please remember that in the course of your affairs the Protestants employ the Papists, the Papists join with the Protestants in sending you money, and in everything that can hasten your Restoration; they are a great body of men, and if they should have reason to believe they would be harder used under your government than they are under the Usurper, self-preservation would oblige them to maintain the Usurper on the throne. . . . Discarding these poor men, they will come to Paris, begging all their way, and show the whole town, English, French, and strangers, an example of your cruelty, their religion being their only crime; do you think, Sir, ye Protestants will believe you the better Protestant for it? . . . it will be a handle for your enemies to represent you as a hippocrite in your religion and cruel in your nature, and show the world what those who serve you are to expect . . . let me beg of you . . . to give such commissions to somebody else . . . I am incapable of acting in an affair that will do you, Sir, infinite prejudice, and cover me with dishonour . . . For God's sake, Sir, have compassion on yourself. . . . Your affairs are not yet desperate . . . don't let your spleen get the better of your prudence . . . and push you to do things Jan. 10.

[1] Cameron denounced Samuel Cameron, young Glengarry, in his dying speech as a traitor, and claimed the Prince of Wales as a Protestant.

1754. that will infallibly make them so. . . . I once more beg you will graciously please to permit me to retire, I will let my friends know that my bad health only is the reason . . ."

At the same time this honest and plain-spoken servant sent the Prince a copy, word for word, of a paper from England relating to Clementina Walkinshaw :—

"Sir, your friend's mistress is broadly and publicly talked of, and all friends look on it as a very dangerous and imprudent step, and conclude reasonably that no correspondence is to be had in that quarter, without risk of discovery, for we have no opinion in England of female politicians, or of such women's secrecy in general. You are yourself much blamed for not informing our friends at first, that they might take the alarum, and stop any present or future transactions. . . . What we now expect from you is to let us know, if no persuasion can prevail to get rid of her."

The Prince answered shortly that he had changed his mind about the servants at Avignon, and "Stouf" (Goring) must return him the order. He makes no allusion to Miss Walkinshaw, or to Goring's retirement.

The following month there was further friction. Charles had sent a messenger to his friends in England for money, and had expressed himself "scandalised" that it had not been immediately forthcoming :—

Feb. 1. "I know them so well," returned Goring, "if they discovered you have the sentiments you write to me, they would never send you a farthing more, believe me, Sir, by threats you will ruine all your affairs. Your sending there has done you no good, and if you send 100 times, it will be expense to no purpose. . . . They expect a Prince who will take advice, and rule according to law, and not one that thinks his will is sufficient. However hard this may be, it is really the state of the case . . . without the assistance of your friends it is impossible to succeed, and if you disgust them there is an end of all . . . by force you would do nothing with them if seated on your throne. . . ."

Charles's answer to this was that he was sorry to hear Goring was ill :—

Feb. 6. "You are telling me about Laws. I am sure no one is more willing to submit to the laws of my country than myself, and have the Vanity to say, I know a little of them, at least so far that I believe . . . a man is not obliged to let himself be Bambousled : all what I want is a definitive answer, and it is much fearer to say yes or no, than to keep one in suspense, which hinders that distressed person of taking other measures. . . ."

After one or two more letters of the same kind, Charles informed Lord Marischal that he had withdrawn his confidence from Colonel Goring and Mr Dawson, and requested him to appoint some other channel of communication. Marischal, who by this time had drawn his own conclusions from the Prince's conduct, replied that he would not take upon himself to name any other channel than those two gentlemen :— 1754.

"That I may not expose you to the danger of trusting new folk . . . the fidelity of both the persons to whom you make exception is without dispute by the plain proof of so long and so extraordinary a concealment of your person. May 18.

"My health and my heart are broke by age and crosses. I resolve to retire from the world and from all affairs. I never could be of use to you but in so far as I was directed by some honourable persons deservedly respected by all who know them: the manner in which you received lately a message from them, full of zeal for your interest, and affection for your person, has, I fear, put an end to that correspondence. . . . I here take leave of politicks, praying God He may open your eyes to your true interest, and give you as honest advisers, and better received, than those you had lately, who are the only [ones] with whom I could serve you. . . ."

Until Lord Marischal's departure from France the following year—taking Colonel Goring, in a dying state, with him—he refused all further business with the Prince, notwithstanding the latter's appeals; and in the year 1756, Frederick the Great entered into an alliance with George II.[1]

There is a memorandum in Charles's hand of this date, containing the following passage :—

". . . My full Powers and Commission of Regence renu'd when I went to England in the year 1750, and nothing to be said at Room, for everything there is known, and my Brother, who has the confidence of my Father, has always acted so far as in his power against my Interest, also O'Bryan [Lord Lismore] ho is ye greatest Rogue, is there . . . ye French Court also to be guarded against as treacherous."[2]

The following is a specimen of the remonstrances from

[1] Lord Marischal made his peace with George II. in 1759.

[2] The opinion held in Paris of the relations between the two brothers appears in a remark of the Duc de Richelieu to Lady Lismore—"The Duke of York dealt so terrible a blow to the Prince's interests, even to the security of his person, that it seems to me quite natural that he cannot forget it."—*Letter of Lady Lismore to James III.*, 2nd December 1756.

1754. England to which Lord Marischal alluded in his letter to the Prince. The key to the cant name of Peter de Potter, who signs the paper, is missing. It is addressed to M. Jean Douglas, Paris, and states that friends in England will do no more for young Biddle [Charles]; his mistress's sister is not to be trusted, and so long as that connection lasts they will be afraid to have anything to do with him. He will not take advice, "so must resolve to depend on himself, and if he finds his wisdom superior to all mankind, it's natural to find him abandoned by all."

There were still men, surprising though it may seem, who were ready and willing to serve this disappointing Prince. Lord Walsh went to England in the hope of furthering his interests. Charles gave him a long paper of instructions; he must find D. K., and remind him how the Prince had supped with him at the Rose Tavern in 1750, "which will be his warrant . . . and also this seal." Charles has now been waiting three years, he is ready to come and place himself at the head of a determined party, however small it may be. "You will tell all those people to whom D. K. will address you, that I am a Protestant, and that I am determined (if ever it lies in my power) to abide by the fundamental laws and constitution of the country." Walsh is to acknowledge the receipt of £2800 and other sums, and is to arrange for further immediate supplies. Sir James Harington is no longer in his service.

James III.'s long-suffering kindness towards his prodigal son seemed inexhaustible. The Prince for one moment broke down in his attitude of cold reserve, writing to Edgar:—

July 31. ". . . My situation is terrible, the more that in reality I cannot see any method or appearance of its Bettering. Shall give an account to my Master of all my proceedings as soon as in my power, for the present it is not possible to put severall things in writing; you can't immagin how many Crosses I meet with, but never any shall hinder me from doing what I think for the best. . . ."

Sept. 2. The answer came, by return of post, that the King was ready to do all he could to help him out of the situation he

described in so feeling a manner; but in the present obscurity could not judge of the difficulty or facility of doing so. Edgar conjures the Prince to open his heart to the best of his friends,—"your own experience must show you that you have not another like him." As opening his heart would have entailed telling his father that he had turned Protestant, and that the King's friends in England, far from directing his actions as James believed, had refused to have anything more to do with him on account of Miss Walkinshaw, it is not surprising to find Charles in his next letter declaring that "it is grievous to him that he cannot send the account he desires, as it would be an endless work. On one side people don't keep their word, and on the other negligence and jealousies hinder many things." Undeterred, the King explained that it would not need a long account to give a general view of the situation, to "enable me to think of ways and means of bringing you out of it. . . ." 1754-5. Oct. 29.

> ". . . The same spirit and courage which made you pursue measures which you must be sensible now have been so fatal to you, can only bring you out of the straits you are in. . . . You are young, it is true, and as long as there is life there is hope, but at the same time you have no time to lose, after having lost so many years in the melancholy situation you have been in."

And again—replying to Charles's rejoinder that if ever his circumstances altered and he required advice, he would not hesitate to consult his best friend—his father points out that, if he is waiting for some change or new event to happen,— Dec. 31.

> "I have been myself expecting such things all my life, and they have never happened with success; who can say it may not be the same with you, and in that case you will pass your life in obscurity. You will let our Family end for want of providing for its succession, and all the labours and pains you will have taken will be lost. . . . Your Friends . . . have drove you into a labyrinth, out of which it will be hard for you to extricate yourself, without you exert vigorously that Spirit and Courage which God has given you, and prefer a due submission to a loving Father to the slavery of those who are now in reality your masters. . . ."

Charles, after spending six or seven months in Paris,

1755. went to Basle in September, writing to Waters in the name of William Thompson from the inn of the "Trois Rois." Alexander Murray, brother of Lord Elibank, who figures as "Campbell" in the Stuart Papers, desired to wait on him there the following January; but the Prince wrote to Waters that if Campbell was coming to speak against a certain lady, or to urge him to change his abode, it was no use his coming, "it will only put Mr Bidle [Charles] out of humer."

"For six years I have been in ignorance of where my son has lived," wrote James III. to the Bailli de Tencin, on the 20th January; "I know he is well, but he leaves me in total obscurity as to his affairs." The King still hoped to dispel that obscurity. He wrote to the Prince:—

May 20. ". . . If you have a sure and near prospect of the Restoration of our Royal Family without any foreign assistance, it is certainly preferable on all accounts. . . . But if that is not the case, as I am afraid it is not, nor ever will be, are We to let our Country and Ourselves remain in our present unhappy situation? rather than make use of such Foreign Assistance, as Providence may one day afford us. . . . Foreigners make use of us for their ends, why should we debarr ourselves from making use of them. . . .? You know enough of my sentiments to be convinced that I can have no sort of selfish view in all these matters, and therefore what comes from me should make the more impression upon you. . . ."

Waters the banker was also doing his part to rouse Charles Edward from his lethargy. There were rumours
Aug. 1. of a struggle in America between France and England—"The King of France's honour, dignity, and just resentment of the treacherous behaviour of the English in America will not allow of temporising any longer . . . you may rely there will be a speedy rupture." Messengers arrived from England and Scotland to Waters, who could not send them on to the Prince without a betrayal of confidence. After repeated entreaties and remonstrances, he obtained permission to send MacPherson of Cluny and another gentleman to Strasbourg, where a person would meet them and conduct them to Charles's retreat. We gather the impression he made upon these messengers by the joint letter they wrote to him after their visit, signed by the cant names of "J.
Aug. 27. Martin" and "J. Pattinson."—They regret that he persists

in not following the advice of his friends, and deplore "the accents of despair" he had used to them. They urge that "a cool head and sound health" are very necessary; and can only be acquired "by Temperance and Moderation, which surely are in your power, and in yours only by lessening your quantities at table." They urge him to drink green tea instead of beer to slake his thirst; they warn him that he may shorten his life, and then beg his pardon for the freedom with which they write:— 1755.

"The French are increasing their fleet, and some day the young Pretender is to command an invasion of England; yet there are some . . . who openly say that Britain needs be in no apprehension from that quarter; that his unguarded conduct disgusts his best friends, and will prevent any attempt in his favour. That fools and flatterers, the destruction of the great, have ruin'd his way of thinking. That he has neglected to cultivate his own judgment, and that his obstinacy is beyond being advised. Which, if any of these things are true, time must and will determine. . . ."

Waters at last resolved to appeal to James III. He wrote to Edgar that the Prince's friends were falling away, and that his character was getting blackened in England:— Nov. 4.

"There is a woman with the Prince who is the author of this mischief, and unless she be got away from him without loss of time, it is only too apparent that H.R.H's reputation will be made very black over all Britain; so, with submission, there is a pressing necessity for the King to attempt a cure for this rising evil, and to persuade the Prince to remove from the place he is in; for the Government in England, I am persuaded, know where he is; he has been told of it over and over, he will not believe it."

This seems to have been the first time Clementina Walkinshaw's name was mentioned to James from Paris; but that he already knew of her connection with the Prince is plain from Edgar's answer, delayed some days by one of the frequent attacks of illness to which the King was now subject. After laying express commands upon Waters, now that he had broken silence, to speak more plainly as to the Prince's place of abode, his friends and his resources in England; James desired to know if the woman's name, of whom Waters had written, was Walkinshaw, and if, as report said, there was a child?

1755-6. Waters, with the following private note to Edgar—"You pusht me too far, though I see you will say I brought it upon myself; theory told me there is no serving of two masters, experience convinces me"—attempts the task of telling all he can, without betraying the Prince's confidence.—He cannot say where he lives; the discontent among the Jacobites apparently began with the turning off Colonel Goring and others; as to the supplies from England, they have apparently stopped for good; the woman's name is what Edgar supposes, and there is a female child [the future Duchess of Albany]. "If things are pointed out too clearly to him, he will certainly suspect me."[1]

The declaration of war between England and France on May 17th, did what neither remonstrances nor entreaties could accomplish; and Charles Edward went to Luneville to ask the advice and assistance of King Stanislaus of Poland. The old King was delighted with him—which shows that he had not yet lost the charm and fascination of manner and personality which had distinguished him—and undertook his cause with the King of France. Charles's resentment for the affront of his arrest in 1748, would not allow him to follow the advice of those who urged him to make advances towards Louis XV., still highly irritated at having been
July 8. forced to take that extreme and unpopular measure. The King wrote kindly to his father-in-law, and caused his Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. de Rouillé, to send him a memoir, pointing out that if "the Prince at present at Nancy" had a strong enough party in England to hope for a revolution in his favour, the circumstances of the present war, gave him a favourable opportunity for taking active measures. If not, France would act unwisely in appearing to support him; the whole nation would unite against her; she would compromise herself uselessly, and would procure the aforesaid Prince no real advantage. King Stanislaus was starting for Paris, and promised, if Charles would send him a clear and detailed account of the strength of his party

[1] The following year, Waters writes to the Prince that "the old Gentleman and all the world" will soon know where he is. "What the plague am I to answer? I shall be brought at last into a scrape, and be found a Lyar besides."

in England, and a plan of what they were prepared to do, he would undertake to read it *tête à tête* to his son-in-law, and to support it with all the strength of his own credit. As this was what the Prince—whose modest claim was for a force of 25,000 troops to be placed unquestioningly at his orders—was quite unable to do; his only answer, conveyed through George Kelly, was that he found "Ellis [Louis XV.] so fickle . . . that it is not as yet time to enter further into what concerns our friend until matters change."[1] At the same time he told Kelly that he meant "to keep the young lady to the last, for he makes it a *point d'honneur* since so many infamous lies have been made on her account."

1756.

Sept. 18.

James, who in his anxiety for his son, had written urgently to Louis XV. and to Cardinal Tencin, and had bidden Sir John Graeme go to him and try to influence him—receiving Graeme's reply that he too had lost the Prince's favour and it would be no use—at last determined to appeal to his affection, and invited him to Rome:—

> "You will not grudge this one journey more to see your old father, that he may embrace you, bless you, and give you his best advice once more before his death, which, naturally speaking, cannot be far off, considering the many infirmities I have, and which give me little repose. . . . I hope you will not refuse me this one consolation, after all the anxieties I have undergone on your account. I shall keep you here but a few days, and as privately as you please . . . and you shall see none but whom you desire. . . ."

Oct. 18.

Charles determined to accept his father's invitation; passports in the name of "John Douglas" were obtained by G. Kelly, who advised him that it would be as well to go and settle a good understanding and union with "Mr Whyte" [James III.]. "You know the creatures about that worthy man, and their malice will carry them any lengths."

The Prince accordingly wrote that he would obey the King's command; and that the affront he had received from Louis XV. need not hinder his father from trying to get what would "make up for past insults . . . 25,000

Nov. 18.

[1] King Stanislaus, at Charles's request, gave him 500 *louis d'or*, of which fact Cardinal Tencin immediately apprised James III. In reply to his father's rather shocked inquiries, the Prince answered that he would never do anything rash or except what his "honour and duty for his great object compelled." Charles was at this time living at Liège in the Rue Sure de Hase.

1756-7. men for England and 5000 for Scotland." "By that I believe, there would be little bludshed. Less might do, thô deare bought. Allow me now to take the liberty to mention some persons you should have guard against, and not to trust Tencin, O'Bryan and his lady [Charles always refused to give O'Bryan his title of Earl of Lismore], Warren [who had brought him safely from Scotland], Lord Clare, MacGregor, Sir J. Harington, Eneas Macdonald, Sullivan, ye two Glengaries. . . . I must add one that is in all appearance not my friend, which is Madame Pompadour. . . ."[1]

With two gentlemen, one servant, and Miss Walkinshaw—leaving his child at Liège—Charles arrived in Paris on the 27th November. What occurred there to change his plans does not appear; but before his father's delighted letter telling of his impatience to embrace him reached
Jan. 14. Paris, he had written to say that his "old lawsuite" kept him in "Germany," that he was taking all measures, and wished his father a happy New Year.

In the month of February James III. received a welcome remittance of 175,000 *livres*, which must have come like an echo of bygone hopes, from the Court of Sweden, in repayment of the sum he had advanced to Charles XII. in 1715.[2]

In one of his letters to his son, urging him to marry,
March 28. there occurs the following curious passage. Speaking of the subsidies he had always received from foreign Courts, he says: "I have never been abandoned by them, and they have so much at heart the preservation of our Family," that the Court of France would by this time have made him a direct proposal to marry again, with a Lady "who would not have been at all unbecoming to me to accept of," and "with all sorts of offers and assurances towards the maintenance of a new Family," if he had not taken care to let it be known, that he would not enter into such proposals.

[1] With the exception of Cardinal Tencin and young Glengarry, Charles was warning his father against all his best friends.

[2] A further sum of 72,731 *livres* was paid by Sweden in 1759.

"It is even the interest of France to maintain and support our Family, as a constant scourge in their hand over an usurper in England. . . . So you see how little reason you have to fear that our Family will be abandoned, provided you do nothing to bring that misfortune upon yourself. . . . Every child you have will facilitate a Restoration . . ." 1757-8.

Such proposals from France, while showing the strength of the desire to perpetuate the direct line of the Stuarts, prove how entirely Charles Edward had lost himself in the opinion of that Court. And yet, as the fortune of war leaned ever farther from France in the war with England, by which William Pitt was climbing to the zenith of power and fame, the French Court began to look towards the hero of the '45, as a possible help in stemming the tide of defeat.[1] The Duc de Bouillon had offered the Prince his house of Bouillon near Sedan, where he lived openly, for the first time since 1748. Thither went messengers repeatedly from the French Court. Lords Clancarty and Walsh, d'Heguerty, Murray and George Kelly, Marshal de Belle-Isle, the Duc de Bouillon and his son, and Madame de Pompadour herself, exerted themselves in vain to persuade him to come to Paris, and concert measures for an expedition to England. Charles had hesitated—as he wrote to G. Kelly—to go to Bouillon, as it would be discovered that he was a Protestant by his not going to Mass; and as no closer intercourse with the French Court could have been established without that fact—and the equally important one of the English Jacobite objection to Miss Walkinshaw—coming into greater prominence than the Prince desired, we have the key to the enigma which so puzzled the world, beginning with his own father.[2]

James had sent his son 2000 *livres* for his journey, so that want of funds might be no hindrance, and as time

[1] Jacobitism was rife in England. Horace Walpole, writing Nov. 4, 1756, describes the nation as in a ferment, "really in the spirit of 1715 and 1745." He consoles himself with the reflection, "We are as much an island as ever. . . . I believe I may reckon, too, Marshal Saxe dead." The presence of Hanoverian troops in England also caused great discontent.

[2] Charles kept the secret of his change of religion. In Nov. 1759, King Stanislaus having inquired as to the truth of the report, the Prince answered he could not hinder people talking, "but when I get home Mr Ellis [Louis XV.] and he will see the consequence of that report . . ."

1758-9. passed, he determined to send Andrew Lumisden, his under-secretary, who had been Charles's secretary in Scotland—and whom he had consented to receive—to Bouillon. Lumisden was charged expressly to urge him
Oct. 7. to come to Rome, even if only for a few days.—"Do not deny me, my dear child, the comfort of embracing you once more before I dy. Could you see my heart, I am sure you would not." In the paper of instructions to Mr Lumisden, the question of Clementina Walkinshaw is touched upon :—

> "You will also express to the Prince the comfort . . . it has been to me to hope, from some account I have received, that Miss Walkinshaw is, or will be soon separated from him; this is an article on which I had thought myself obliged to have writ to the Prince long since, had I thought my writing would have had any effect, but that particular for some time past was become so publick, and was of so much prejudice to his honour and interest, as well as to his conscience, that it cannot but be extreme satisfactory to me, on all accounts, to have reason to hope that he may have at last taken on that head a resolution becoming himself."

Lumisden reached Bouillon on the 21st November, and returned to Rome at the end of April. Up to this time James III. had ever received the hardest rubs of fortune with a calm intrepidity, which had become as a second nature; but when he read his son's letter—a long farrago of complaint against Lord George Murray and other persons in the '45, and containing no word of present affairs, future plans, or of Miss Walkinshaw—when he had received his faithful messenger's report, for the first time in his life his fortitude broke down, and he could not rally
May 1. at once from the blow :—". . . When he read your letter," wrote Lumisden to the Prince, "and heard the report you ordered me to make, it so disordered him that he finds himself unable to write to you at present."

May 29. When James was able to write, his letter was a model of dignified and sorrowful rebuke—Lumisden's report had greatly mortified and afflicted him, and there was another question—that of religion—on which he had not thought fit to give him any commission.[1] The Prince's own letters,

[1] Andrew Lumisden was a Protestant.

for years past, had contained expressions which did not seem natural in one who had a fixed and right way of thinking; and one motive of his singular and obscure way of living, may have been the desire to hide his religion from the public.— 1758-9.

"Do not flatter yourself, my dear Son, on this article there is no trimming, and you equally renounce your religion whether you conceal it, or embrace another. . . . I am far from dissuading you to seek a Temporal Kingdom. . . . and it is manifestly for the good of our country, that it should return under the Dominion of our Family. But . . . what will avail to you all the Kingdoms in the World . . . if you Lose your Soul. I am in agonys for you, my dear Son, and you alone can free me from them . . ."

In a second letter of the same date, James refers to Miss Walkinshaw, whom his son had not mentioned:—

". . . It is really time to finish that scene, which does you little honor . . . and has, and does still prejudice to your Interest. If your concern about her, as I flatter myself, be not her Person, but the Security of the Secrets you may have confided to her, I don't see what excuse or pretence you can have to delay sending her into a Convent, which would at once put you at ease.[1] If you have a mind, I should think you could not want ways and means to place her in some convent in the neighbouring Country where you are; . . . if you approve it, I will undertake to place her in some Country Convent in France, where I will maintain her and her Child decently, and where I will answer she shall not go to any Parler, much less out of the house, and you will be no more troubled about her . . ."

Meanwhile the French Court continued to make overtures to the sulky Prince in the forest of Ardennes; Marshal de Belle-Isle going himself, as he tells us in his *Testament Politique*, at the order of Louis XV., to see him, but could make nothing of him. At last he consented to go for a few days to Paris in February, but the interviews he had with the Ministers were unsatisfactory. They handed him a paper, stating that ships and troops would be ready in July or August, and asking him meanwhile—the old story—to get all necessary lights and details from his friends in England on the strength of his party, the pro-

[1] The guest-houses of convents were still the recognised dwelling-places of ladies of the world and their children; and Miss Walkinshaw, who was a Catholic, had lived in several, in different parts of France, during the Prince's wanderings. The guest-houses, or "high pension," were quite apart and distinct from the enclosure of the nuns.

1759. visions, horses, etc., that could be counted upon when the debarcation should be effected, with much more to the same purpose.

When Charles Edward appeared in Paris, his friends were much distressed at the deterioration in him.

Feb. 23. ". . . I would give the world to see him in another way," [wrote one of them to Mr Sheridan]; "it would be impossible for him to survive, nor yet make old bones, was he to continue much longer. For God's sake . . . see and spake to him upon the subject, or all is losst for him and his friends."

The French were building flat-bottomed boats at Rouen —a model of one of them was sent to the Prince—for the invasion of England; while the English fleet burned the French ships at St Malo, and bombarded Havre; the Hanoverians and English defeated M. de Contades at Minden; while in America, General Woulfe wrenched *La Nouvelle France* from her first European rulers, by the tak-
Nov. 9. ing of Quebec. "The French have lost Canada," wrote Lord Dunbar to James Edgar, "they have been beaten in Europe, Africa, and America."

All these reverses made it plain that the French could do nothing serious with regard to England for the moment. Admiral Thurot landed a small force in Ireland in March, —which Charles had refused to join—but could do nothing with the small number of 1000 men at his command, and so returned to France. James, therefore, renewed his entreaties to his son to come to Rome; the moment was opportune, and he begged him not to delay giving him the greatest satisfaction he could have in this world. Not knowing how the Prince may be off for money, he sends Waters 12,000 *livres* for his journey, whenever he may choose to call for it. To this, Charles answered that he had been ill, all his nerves attacked, and that he was going to Spa. He also thanked God he had had no handle in M. Thurot's affair, being determined to enter into no schemes but solid ones.

James III. had lost his old servant Lord Lismore, who died at the end of 1759, and in calling Sir John Graeme to Rome to succeed him, the exiled King remarks:—

"At our age it is a wonder when we live, and none when we die . . . but still as long as we are in this world, it is our duty to acquitte ourselves of the obligations of the State in which Providence has placed us. . . ." 1760.

He raised Graeme—and it was the last dignity he conferred—to the Peerage, with the title of Earl of Alford.

In April, James had a serious illness, from which he never again recovered, although his life was prolonged for several years; the Prince was summoned to Rome, and had actually taken his passports, when an unexpected event occurred. Clementina Walkinshaw, wearied of his ill-treatment, uneasy in her conscience at the irregularity of their connection, and encouraged by the offer Charles had received from his father to provide for her and her child in a convent, took matters into her own hands, left Bouillon in the night of the 22-23rd July, and fled to Paris. From there, through the instrumentality of the Archbishop of Paris, at James III.'s request she and her little girl, then in her eighth year [born at Liège, 29th October 1753], were placed in a convent near Meaux.[1]

The Prince's rage and despair were extreme; he sent the most trusty of his servants to Paris, and he wrote to beg Marshal de Belle-Isle to have the town searched for the fugitives. Believing Waters to be privy to the evasion, he addressed himself to Principal John Gordon of the Scotch College:—

". . . I take this affaire so much to heart that I was not able to write what is here above, I shall be in the greatest affliction untill I guet back the childe, which was my only comfort in my misfortunes. Strive, if possible, the thing should be done without noise. . . ." July 25.

Gordon found Miss Walkinshaw, and told her that the Prince's consent was absolutely necessary before she could dispose of the child; but her answer was, she would sooner be cut to pieces than give her up or go back herself; and after Abbé Gordon had become aware that she had the King's authority, he wrote respectfully to the Prince that since the "old Gentleman on the other side of the Hills" had taken the child under his protection, the French

[1] The Emperor Francis of Austria gave Miss Walkinshaw the title of Countess Alberstrof.

1760-2. Ministers would not interfere; and that he himself could do no more, as it would be contrary to his allegiance to James III.

Charles thereupon took the extraordinary resolution to refuse all intercourse with the Court of France, as well as with all English, Scotch, and Irish persons, not excepting his own father, until Clementina and the child had been restored to him. He shut himself up at Bouillon with a few boon companions, spending his time shooting in the forest of Arden, and drinking heavily. The Stuart papers of this date show the efforts of his adherents to persuade, rouse, or sting him into a less ignoble life. They informed him in letters, to which he returned no answer, that the English Jacobites were about to address themselves to Turin;[1] they sent him rumours that the Pope had given the Duke of York a dispensation to marry; they quoted the saying of his enemies in England that they had him in a bottle at Bouillon, of which they held the cork; and they finally reminded him that there were reports of a coming peace; for which he must prepare, or take the consequences. At the death of George II.—25th October—and at the assembly of the Peace Congress in April 1761, as on the disgrace of Pitt in October, they renewed their efforts with equal insuccess.[2]

When James III. was at the worst of his illness, he sent for the French Ambassador; and charged him, in the most moving terms, to assure his Master of the sincere and grateful sentiments of his heart, and to recommend his children in the strongest manner to his favour and protection. As soon as he could apply to business he wrote to Marshal Belle-Isle, "not as to the Minister of a great
Dec. 29. King, but as to an old and faithful friend," for whom he thought his wayward son still had some regard, begging him to send some trusty person to Bouillon, to try and prevent his utter ruin. Belle-Isle was dead—26th January

[1] The family of Savoy, through Henrietta of England, came next in succession after James III. and his two sons.

[2] Among the Prince's papers are the following lines:—

"Tu dors Edouard,
N'est-tu donc plus Edouard? Oct. 1761."

1761—almost before this letter reached Paris, and James thereupon wrote to the Duc de Choiseul that he might get Louis XV.'s permission to send the Marquis de l'Hopital to try and persuade the Prince to come to Rome. "The King will sympathise, if he thinks of the tenderness and compassion of a father, for so dear a son." 1760-2.

In a word, all the father's remaining energies seem to have been concentrated in the effort to reclaim his son. In 1762 Spain declared war against England—Alexander Murray wrote at once to the Prince that if he would go to Madrid, Murray would find the money and go with him—and James III. made another effort to draw him from "the hidden, and I may say ignominious Life you now Lead."— Jan. 25.

> ". . . Is it possible, my dear son, you can so entirely forget your past life, the dangers you exposed yourself to, the hardships, and fatigues you underwent, and the applause and glory you gained, by supporting our just cause and our faithful adherents? Will you let all that be buried in oblivion and yourself with it? . . . Can there be a more favourable conjuncture for us than this, [for] appearing again in publick . . . and showing by your actions that you are the same man you were twenty years ago? . . . You know how much the King of Spain [Carlos III.] is picked [piqued] at the English; and his former personal acquaintance with you . . . may be of great use to you at this time. But I speak in the dark . . . you only know your own secrets. . . . But what will be a clear case to me, and to all the world, is that you are utterly ruined if you do not alter your conduct. . . . *P.S.*—If you make no reply to this letter, I shall take it for granted that . . . you are not only buried alive . . . but in effect that you are dead and insensible to every thing. . . ."

In James's own hand are the words: "I am all yours," and the letter is addressed, "For our dearest Son, the Prince." Charles made no reply, and the King his father wrote but one more letter to him. In September, peace was at hand; and James wrote to warn his son of the consequences which might be expected, if he renewed the scene of resisting all the power and authority of the King of France, and recommenced "a most indecent wandering life."— Sept. 29.

> "Will you not run straight to your Father? . . . There is no question of the past, but only of saving you from utter destruction for the future. Is it possible you would rather be a vagabond on the face of the earth

1762-6. than return to a Father who is all love and tenderness for you? . . . This peace will come like a thunderbolt; and when it comes, you will have no more time to think at all, but you must chuse your alternative, and so it will fare you. . . ."

James III. did not realise the full extent of his son's downfall. Through the spies which surrounded him at Bouillon, through the long obscurity of his life, the English Government had become well aware that the brilliant hero of the '45 had become the merest cypher; and for the first time since the Revolution of 1688, a general Treaty of Peace was signed, in which was made no mention of the Pretender or his family.

But this and all other mundane things were passing beyond the ken of James III. In 1764 another illness confined him to his bed, from which he was never to rise. "Finding his strength of mind impair," wrote the Cardinal Duke to Lady Webb,[1] an ardent Jacobite in Paris, who was his medium of communication with the Prince in 1765, "the King resolved to exert what remained of it entirely in exercises of devotion and a serious preparation for Eternity:—

Feb. 4, 1765.

"He proceeded in a little time to refuse to read or answer any letters, afterwards did not care to be informed of their contents or meddle with the regulating of his temporal affairs; and at last went so far as to charge me . . . with the management and administration of his affairs. . . . Within these few months, Almighty God seems to have heard his prayers in detaching him thus entirely from all temporal concerns . . . [while] to the great edification of those about him, he frequently is blessed with a singular presence of mind in spiritual matters. . . ."

Thus, month after month, lay the Stuart King, in ignorance of the reconciliation of his two sons—after an estrangement of eighteen years—and of the determination of the elder at last to come to Rome. Then came the hour of release, and in the night of the 1st January 1766 James III. peacefully expired, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

[1] Lady Webb was the widow of Sir Thomas Webb, Bart., who died in 1763, and daughter and heiress of William Gibson. Her sister-in-law, Anne Webb, was the wife of James, Earl of Derwentwater, beheaded 1716.

In his last Will he had expressed the wish to be buried in his parish church of the SS. Apostoli; but Pope Clement XIII. decreed that his obsequies should show the esteem in which Rome held him; and with even greater pomp than when Clementina, his wife, had been laid in the crypt of St Peter's, James III. was carried thither on the 6th January. Twenty-two cardinals had attended his Requiem Mass, and 500 clergy and members of guilds and confraternities, with lighted tapers; troops, artillery, music, and torch and standard bearers, chamberlains and equerries to the Holy See, mounted Swiss and Noble Guards, all the stately beauty of a great Roman pageant, escorted the King as he was carried on a bed of state to his last resting-place. For the second time in fifty years, a crown was on his head, the orb and sceptre in his hands, the purple and ermine of royalty wrapped him round; and as the splendid procession sweeps along we can see, in our mind's eye, a nobler and more numerous escort still, attending the silent King. Led by Dundee, Derwentwater, Kenmure, the victims of Glencoe—the men who, on field and scaffold, in the words of Christopher Layer, died "like gentlemen and Christians" in the cause they considered just. And the others, Middleton, Ailesbury, Sancroft, Atterbury, Perth, and their many companions in deprivation, poverty, and life-long exile; and nearest of all to his master, most faithful and most calumniated of his servants, John Hay, Earl of Inverness. The struggle had been too unequal, the odds against them too great; but in the clear and sober light of that January day, there appears an element of triumph in their failure, which the successes of their enemies could never know. Master and men—save one—had lacked the supreme compelling power which we call genius, which makes men attempt the apparently impossible, warranting it shall take effect, while those who have it not labour unavailingly; but the page of their history is not one of the least soul-stirring in the annals of their country.

1766.

Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 34,638.

Before the cypress coffin was closed, a chamberlain stepped forward and placed in it three medals, gold, silver, and bronze, bearing James III.'s effigy, and on the reverse a

1766. view of the London he had never seen with conscious eyes. Under happier circumstances, his reign, the longest England would have known, would have been that of a wise and gentle ruler, of a peace-loving King, reared in the hard school of adversity.

FINIS

APPENDIX A

MACAULAY'S accuracy, when dealing with the objects of his strong aversion, is seldom less to be trusted than when he gives a reference to a contemporary authority. He bases his accusation of "rapacity" against Queen Mary of Modena after Monmouth's Rebellion, in a footnote, on "Sunderland to Jeffreys, Sept. 14, 1688," and proceeds: "Unhappily, the only request she is known to have proffered touching the rebels was that a hundred of those who were sentenced to transportation might be given to her. The profit which she cleared on the cargo . . . cannot be estimated at less than a thousand guineas." Lord Sunderland's letter to Chief Justice Jeffreys is in the Public Record Office and runs as follows: ". . . His Majesty commands me also to acquaint you that of such persons as you shall think qualifyed for transportation, he intends Sir Philip Howard should have 200, Sir Richard White 200, Sir William Booth, Mr James Kendal (and four others) 100 each . . . the said parties entering into Security . . . that the said Prisoners be forthwith transported to some of His Majestie's Southerne Plantations, viz. Jamaica, Barbados, or any of the Leeward Islands . . . to be kept there for the space of ten years before they have their Liberties. . . ." In a postscript Sunderland adds: ". . . The Queen has asked a hundred more of the Rebels, who are to be transported. As soon as I know for whom, you shall heare from me again."

The grants to private individuals of prisoners condemned to transportation was, like the sale of pardons through regular pardon-mongers, an established custom of the time, and the remarkable thing in the above letter is the proof it gives of James II.'s leniency in reducing the sentence to the short term of ten years' penal servitude. As for the Queen's request, it plainly meant no more than that some courtier had applied to her for a hundred of the rebels, as the wording of the postscript shows; a careful search through Sunderland's subsequent letters to Jeffreys during that famous Western Assize has failed to find any further reference to the Queen's request; the subject is never mentioned again, and its chief value lies in the light it throws upon Macaulay's methods.

The true history of that "Bloody Assize" has not yet been

written, but nothing strikes the student of contemporary documents more than the absence, at the time, of any adverse comment on the King, of any charge of cruelty in his dealings with the rebels. Evelyn notes the dangers that would have arisen to the public peace if the fanatics had not been suppressed ; and, far from accusing the King of cruelty, the foreign envoys seem almost contemptuous of his wholesale pardoning, even of Hampden—"traitors from father to son for four generations," writes Terriesi to the Grand Duke of Tuscany The outcry was raised later, after the second and successful Rebellion, as one of the many devices for throwing obloquy upon the King. It was then decided to recall the convicts from the Southern Plantations; but the Colonists who had paid for their services protested, and they were left to work out their time. According to a contemporary account (Brit. Mus., Folio 10,118), of 1200 rebels condemned to death, 250 were executed, the rest had their sentences reduced by the King to ten years' transportation. Mr Inderwick, in his *Side-Lights on the Stuarts*, gives the number, according to a careful search through the gaol books, as 150 out of 1500 prisoners. Ten years later, after the abortive plot to seize William III., of the ten gentlemen arrested, eight, including Sir John Fenwick, who was perfectly innocent, were executed ; and yet James II. and Jeffreys have been covered with obloquy as bloodthirsty monsters. Macaulay's methods in dealing with the subject are set forth in an interesting and instructive article by Professor Churton Collins in the *National Review* of September 1906.

APPENDIX B

The day after James II.'s departure, anarchy reigned in London on the report, diligently spread, that the Irish were cutting the throats of the Protestants—"the same idle and barbarous report," writes Ailesbury, "was all over the Kingdom that night at 12. . . . Note that the number of Roman Catholics was not 1200 in the whole army, and these lurked and hid themselves out of fear." The Catholic chapels were destroyed, the Spanish Ambassador's palace sacked, and the town given up to riot and confusion. Ailesbury, on his way with Lords Middleton, Feversham, and Yarmouth, to persuade the King to return to London, tried in vain to arrest and punish "the man in red and the Gravesend tide coachman," who were hurrying from town to town, spreading the report that the places they had left were "running with blood." The Mayor of Canterbury was half-dead with fear, and told Ailesbury he had not been in bed for three nights for fear of having his throat cut by Irish Papists. "On assuring him

that those reports were all forged lies to turn the heads of the people and alienate their hearts from the King, I obliged him," writes Ailesbury, "to take his rest; and he ordered his daughter, that had more sense and penetration, to provide me some breakfast, of which I stood in great need, having not eaten for twenty hours." The same thing happened at Sittingbourne and Chatham, "the women crying at their doors with their children by them, choosing rather to be murthered there than in their beds." Lord Ailesbury went to those on one side, and Colonel James Graham to those on the other, to reassure them and tell them all was quiet. At Chatham Dockyard the men flung up their hats and caps, when the printed order of the Lords in Council for the preservation of public tranquillity, was read out to them by Ailesbury's order.

This scare of throat-cutting Papists was also "a trick that had served its turn," for, according to the official Broadsheet issued to record the proceedings of the Convention of January $\frac{22}{29}$, 1689[1] [British Museum, 1850, c. 6 (82)], Mr Powell, on being elected Speaker, makes no mention of danger from Popery in England, in the "small Harangue" with which he opens the proceedings before reading the Prince of Orange's message, but enlarges, by the Prince's command, upon the danger from Popery in Ireland, and "that unless some speedy care be taken" for the relief of the Protestants, "they will not only undergo a general Massacre, but also that Kingdom will be inevitably lost to the Crown." He continues: "I am also commanded to put you in mind of the *Growth of France* and the aspiring Hopes of their Turbulent Monarch, who, we know, is not only an Enemy of the Protestant Religion, but also a Sworn Foe to the Crown of England. We therefore ought to be in such a condition, not only to Defend ourselves against the utmost of his Force, but also to be able to give him so Powerful a Diversion in his own Country, that our former Conquests in France may be remembered, and the Provinces formerly belonging to the Crown of England recovered."

Such sentiments, officially uttered by an English Speaker with regard to a country and a monarch with whom England had been at peace for twenty years, are truly remarkable; and no less noteworthy is the letter of the Prince of Orange, read to the Assembly by Mr Powell, after "a worthy Gentleman," whose name is not given, had delivered himself of a diatribe against the Papists and the French, and proposed that "a suitable Return be made to His Royal Highness for the great Care and Hazzard he has undergone for our Preservation." William's letter, after praying Heaven to send a spirit of Peace and Union upon the Councils of the Con-

[1] Parliamentary reporting was not conceded until 1771.

vention, reminds its members that the Dangerous Condition of the Protestant Interest in Ireland "and the Present State of things abroad, oblige me to tell you That next to the Danger of unreasonable Divisions amongst yourselves, Nothing can be so Fatal as too great a Delay in your Consultations. The States [of Holland] by whom I have been enabled to rescue this Nation, may suddenly feel the ill Effects of it, both by being too Long deprived of the Service of their Troops, which are now here, and of your early Assistance against a Powerful Enemy, who hath declared War against them, and as England is by Treaty already engaged to help them upon such Exigencies, so I am confident that their Cheerful Concurrence to preserve this Kingdom with so much Hazard to themselves will meet with all the Returns of Friendship and Assistance which may be expected of you as Protestants and Englishmen, whenever their Condition shall require it."

As the Peace of Nimeguen pledged England to neutrality, and James II. had persistently refused to join the League of Augsburg against France, the Prince of Orange somewhat stretched the interpretation of existing treaties, in the above declaration to the nation he was deluding. The Broadsheet ends with the Proclamation of an Order for a "Day of Publick Thanksgiving . . . to Almighty God for having made His Highness the Prince of Orange the glorious Instrument of the Great Deliverance of this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power." It is noteworthy that neither Burnet, who probably put the Prince of Orange's message into English (all William's original letters at this period are in French), nor Macaulay, who must have known Powell's speech through Oldmixon—whom he quotes on events happening at the same time—makes any mention of it, or of the above curious Broadsheet in his History.

William of Orange was too shrewd a man not to desire to know the exact extent of that "Danger from Popery" which had served him so well in his enterprise, and we find a short paper carefully preserved in his chest (*Public Record Office, King William's Chest*) with the following statement:—

"Number of Freeholders in England—

Conformists,	Non-Conformists,	Papists,
2,477,254.	108,676.	13,856.

Total of Papists fit to bear arms throughout all England, 4940."

APPENDIX C

Richard Ashton's paper given to the Sheriff on the scaffold ends with a prayer: "Bless, protect and strengthen, O Lord God, my good and gracious King and Master; in thy due time let the

Vertue, Goodness and Innocency of the Queen, my Mistress, make all her Enemyes blushe, and silence the wicked and unjust Calumnyes that Malice and Envy have raised against her; make her and these Nations happy in the Prince of Wales . . . restore them all when thou seest fit to their just Rights. . . ." The paper commences with the declaration that he dies, as he has lived, a Protestant.—"All the new Methods of settling this Nation have hitherto made it more miserable, Poore, and more exposed to Foreign Enemyes. And the religion we pretend to be so fond of preserving, now much more than ever likely to be destroyed."

So great was the impression produced by the above paper and by Ashton's bearing at his death, that the Government thought fit, soon after the execution, to publish the paper with a long refutation of its statements.

APPENDIX D

In an Italian Manifesto, sent to Pope Innocent XII. by William III. at the end of 1693, he attempts to vindicate his "conduct from calumnies," declaring he was called to England "to be the arbitrator and mediator" between James II. and his subjects.—"The care of calming those turbulences occupied me entirely, and I might have succeeded if that Prince and his subjects had had more condescension towards each other. . . . The death of the Duke of Monmouth and of the greater number of his accomplices had struck terror in the boldest, and had he [James II.] not formed the design of imposing his own religion upon all his subjects, it may be said that he would still be on the throne . . . but the ambition of making himself absolute . . . and of imitating the actions of a powerful King, without possessing the same means and the same force, brought down upon him that terrible crowd of misfortunes under which, by a fatal heredity, his head might have fallen, had it not been for the care I took to save and preserve him from the fury of his subjects. . . . At the same time, these revolted people, seeking a powerful Protector and a disinterested mediator, unfortunately cast their eyes upon me, and solicited my presence in England, and my help in securing their religious freedom.

"I was in Holland, at the head of a powerful force, which I had raised, not, as has been reproached to me, for that end, but to support the interests of Pope Innocent XI. against Cardinal Fürstenberg, or I may rather say against France." After recounting his arrival in England, he continues: "In a short time I found myself in London, absolute master of all things, not one of King James's subjects having had the courage or the fidelity to strike a blow in his favour. Under these conditions, in the midst of a

furious people, burning with wrath against their King, I sent him secret notice to save himself, out of an excess of consideration and tenderness—*per un eccesso di considerazione e di tenerezza*—and with no view whatever to my own interests. I favoured his flight, and facilitated his embarcation . . . and then, ignoring the services I had rendered him, he excited the most Christian king against me, as if I had been guilty of a misfortune only imputable to his own imprudence and ill conduct. . . .

"The Convention offered me the Sceptre, and forced me to accept it; it also forced me, in spite of myself—*mio malgrado*—to allow myself to be proclaimed King . . . and constrained me to obey the violence of its election—*la violenza di sua elezione.* I found myself the depositary of a crown which I am ready to renounce for the public tranquillity; and for nearly five years I have reigned on that footing—*che io regno su questo piede.* The King of France alone persists in disturbing me and treating me as a Usurper."

Seven pages are filled with a defence against the accusation of being a tyrant or usurper; and William goes on to declare that he is ready "to renounce the Crown of England, and to leave these Islands for ever; to restore them to King James and to assure their possession to the Prince his son; and to return to Holland myself . . . if France will only, on her side, confine herself to the execution of the treaties of the Pyrenees, and consent to the nullification of all subsequent treaties." This remarkable document ends with pressing the example of the Catholic powers, who have owned William's sovereignty, upon the Pope; and with a pathetic picture of the poor condition to which the writer will be reduced when, for the public tranquillity, he will have laid down the Crown of England, and resumed his former humble condition in Holland.—*British Museum, Vatican Transcripts,* Add. MS. $\frac{15,398}{138, xxx.}$

APPENDIX E

Further instructions were sent into England in the following March, a few days before the death of William III. :—

". . . When it shall please God to put us in possession of our Kingdom of England . . . we shall secure and protect all our subjects of the Church of England in the full enjoyment of all their legal rights. . . . We further promise, for their greater security, we will so far wave during our own Reign our right of Nomination to Bishoprics and all other Dignities . . . that we will appoint the

Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, and four Bishops, to propose three Persons for each Vacancy. . . .

"As on the one side, We solemnly promise to govern by law and inviolably to maintain the Liberty and Propertys of our Subjects, so on the other side, We would not be understood to lye under any obligation of persecuting those of our own Religion, or any other Dissenters merely upon the account of Conscience. And we shall leave it to Our First Parliament to agree upon and settle a just and equitable Moderation of the Laws now in force against Roman Catholics. Given at our Court, at St Germains, 3rd March 1702, and in the First year of our Reign.

"By His Majesty's Command,

"MIDDLETON."

APPENDIX F

Nathaniel Hooke was the third son of John Hooke, merchant of Drogheda, and born in 1664. He went to Holland with the Duke of Argyle, and came back with Monmouth as his chaplain. He was secretly dispatched to London, with one Danvers, to raise insurrection there, and refused, to his honour, to take part in a plan proposed by Danvers to assassinate James II. He was exempted from the General Pardon on 10th March 1685-6, and remained in hiding until June 1688. The newsletter from London to Mr Ellis, Secretary of Revenue in Ireland, of 21st June, says: "Nathaniel Hooke, the late Duke of Monmouth's chaplain, who was concerned in the Rebellion, and hath ever since skulked up and down without being able to obtain his pardon, threw himself lately at His Majesty's feet, desiring H.M.'s pardon or to be speedily tried and executed, since now life itself, as well as the sense of his guilt, was wearisome to him; whereupon His Majesty thought fit to extend his gracious pardon to him."—*Ellis's Original Letters*, Second Series, vol. iv. p. 103.

As by kindness to Penn, so now also by mercy to Hooke, James II. out of a non-conformist adversary won a staunch friend. Hooke became a Catholic and a staunch Jacobite. He was present at the battle of the Boyne. He was taken at Chester, as reported in newsletter of 17th May 1689, with commissions of our King James, and committed to the Tower. He afterwards entered the French service as "Colonel Réformé" in the Irish Regiment of Galmoy. In 1703 he was transferred to the Regiment of Sparre, and served in Flanders. He married Eleanor Susan, daughter of Alexander MacCarthy Reagh, one of Queen Mary of Modena's ladies. He had one son, born December 14, 1705, to whom James

III. stood sponsor. His letters and dispatches from Scotland show his zeal and intelligence. He was naturalised a Frenchman in 1706, and accompanied James to Scotland in 1706. He died 25th October 1738, aged seventy-five, after an eventful and varied life.—*Rev. W. D. Macray, M.A., Roxburgh Club*, 1843.

APPENDIX G

"James VIII. to his good people of his Ancient Kingdom of Scotland.

"1708, March 1. St Germains.—Declaration."

After a preamble declaring his rights, and his grief at the long delay in asserting them, James continues: "We do . . . under the great Seal of Scotland, absolutely and effectually for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, pardon and remit all treasons, and all other crimes and offences committed against Us and Our Ancestors, promising that such persons as had forfeited their Estates before the late rebellion, shall be restor'd to . . . their said Estates, Provided that they . . . repair to Our Royal Standard . . . excepting allways all such persons who at, or after Our Landing in Scotland, shall . . . by Land or by Sea oppose Us. . . .

"And for the further quieting the minds of Our Subjects . . . We declare and promise that in Our first Parliament, we will pass a general Act of Oblivion, without any exception of persons, otherwise than as above excepted. . . .

"We further declare that We will . . . call a free Parliament . . . to redress all grievances . . . that so Our Ancient Kingdom of Scotland may be restored to its former honour, Liberty and Independency, of which it has been so treacherously deprived. What they suffered under the Tyranny of Cromwell, as also the usage they met with in the affair of Darien, and the Massacre of Glenco under the Usurpation of the Prince of Orange, and the present Union or rather Subjection, demonstrate that Usurpations have allways been fatal and ruinous to the Liberty of Scotland. . . .

"We likewise promise upon Our Royal Word to protect, secure and maintain all Our Protestant Subjects in the free exercise of their Religion, and in the full enjoyment of all their Rights. . . .

"And to conclude, We promise faithfully to observe the King Our Father of blessed memory, his Directions to Us in his last Will and Testament . . .—'Upon my decease my Son, the Prince of Wales, will have an undoubted right to my Kingdoms. . . . And when it shall please God to put him in possession of the Kingdoms which rightfully belong to him, We as a Father, advise and require him never to molest his Subjects in the enjoyment of their Religion, Rights, Liberty and Property, and let him know that a King can

never be happy, unless his Subjects be easy. . . .'"—*Hist. MSS. Com., Stuart Papers*, Windsor, vol. i. pp. 218-221.

APPENDIX H

State of the Highland clans sent to Louis XIV. early in the year 1709. "Nothing in this paper," says Macpherson, "appears to have been exaggerated, though its manifest design was to encourage a French invasion."

"The clans are here mentioned with 500 men to regiment. . . . The three great branches of the M'Donalds, viz. Clanranald, Glengarie, Sir Donald M'Donald of Sleat. The Captains of Clanranald's family have still been loyal and had a good regiment in the field for Kings Charles I. and II., and this present Captain, at fourteen years of age, was with 500 men at the battle of Killiecrankie for King James VII. They are all Catholics.

"The three great branches of M'Duff or Clanchattan, viz. Farquharsons, M'Intoshes, M'Phersons. . . .

"The M'Leans have still been loyal; their chief and 500 men of his name being killed at Inverkething, for King Charles II., by Cromwell. . . . They can bring to the field, of very good men, 500.

"The Camerons have still been loyal. . . .

"The Stuarts and Robertsons of Athol have still been loyal, and have taken the field for the Kings Charles I. and II. and James VII. —notwithstanding the present Marquis of Athol, who was superior to the most part of them, was then for the Prince of Orange; but it is now the better, that he himself is loyal at present. They may bring to the field, of very good men, 1000.

"The M'Naughtons and Stuarts of Appin have still been loyal . . . as was also M'Niel of Barra, who with his men are all Catholics. The Drummonds' loyalty is not to be doubted; since they will certainly follow their chief the Duke of Perth, or his son, the Earl of Drummond.

"The M'Kenzies are not to be doubted; since they will follow their chief, the Marquis of Seaforth. They, with other little names about them, may bring to the field, of indifferent good men, 1000. The Frasers are loyally inclined. . . . The Sinclairs are esteemed loyal. . . . The M'Kays and the Highlanders of Strath; their superiors are not loyal, yet their commons can be brought to the field, and may do good service, being joined with others; they may make, of very good men, 500.

"The Rosses of Balnagowan; their chief is not loyal ,yet his clan might be brought to the field; and they may make, of none of the best of men, 500.

"The Grants; their chief has been very violent against the late King, and raised a regiment against him, and entertained it three years at his own charges; yet his clan must be called to the field, and joined to others of unquestioned loyalty.

"The Campbells of Breadalbin; their superior, the Earl of Breadalbin, is a very cunning man, yet still pretends to be loyal. . . .

"The Grahams of Menteith and Stuarts of Down are loyal. . . .

"The M'Niels of Galchyle, M'Laughlins, M'Kinnons, M'Auleys, M'Nabs, M'Gregors, M'Gibbons, M'Echins of Dunbarton, Argyle and Stirlingshire are loyal, and may bring to the field, amongst them all, of very good men, 1000.

"The number of all the men is 12,000. . . . The King might likewise expect from the Low countries of Scotland, at least 20,000 men; for the King hath generally, all the nation over, three for him for one against him. . . ."

APPENDIX I

Letter from Mr Leslie to a Member of Parliament in London, written from Bar-le-Duc, and published in London, 1714:—

"And first for the Person of the Chevalier, which you desire to know; He is Tall, Streight, and clean-Limb'd, Slender, yet his Bones pretty large; He has a very graceful Mien, walks fast, and his Gait has great Resemblance to his Unkell King Charles II., and the Lines of his Face grow daily more and more like him. . . . He is always Cheerful but seldom Merry, Thoughtful but not Dejected, and bears his Misfortunes with a visible Magnanimity of Spirit. He frequents the Publick Devotions, but there is no sort of Bigotry about him. He has a great application to Business, spends much time in his Closet, and Writes much, which no Man does better, and more succinctly. I have often admired his Criticalness in the Choice of Words. He apprehends readily, and gives the direct Answer.

"He is very affable, and has something strangely engaging in his Voice and Deportment, that none who ever conversed with him but are charmed with his good Sense and Sweetness of Temper. Nor can any take it ill when he grants not their Request, for he always gives such a Reason as must satisfy. Yet he can show displeasure, but without Anger. He expressed no Resentment at the cruel Proceedings of the last Parliament, to leave him no Place to flee unto, but to drive him like the Scape-Goat into a Land not Inhabited, with all the Sins of the Nation upon his Head. . . . He has informed himself of past miscarriages, and knows well the difference betwixt the Office of a *King* and a *Missionary*. He will

concern himself with no Man's Religion, but is resolv'd to defend that which is legally Established. . . . This has been confirmed to me by several steps to which I am Witness. In the year 1701, about six Months after the King, his Father's Death, he . . . endeavour'd to secure for his Protestant Servants the free Exercise of their Religion. And to do justice to the Queen his Mother, she not only concurred in this, but did herself solicit it to my Knowledge. But the Maxims of that Court would not admit it. Ten years after this, in the year 1711, he being then of Age, did attempt it again, but could not prevail. But as soon as he came to this country, he obtained it from the Generosity of the Duke of *Lorrain* . . . I was then sent for to officiate for the Protestants in the Family. . . . I never yet was refused access to him when I desired it, and He of himself often sends for me and gives me special Marks of his Favour. I would not have said so much were it not to do him justice, and expose the vile Clamors of his Enemies, that he has no regard to Protestants, which is known to be notoriously false to all who have the Honour to attend him. He has given all the Demonstrations possible to the contrary, except parting with his Conscience and his Honour, which some would have him do that they might object it against him, and represent him as unworthy to Reign for so doing. . . ."

APPENDIX J

Copy of intercepted letter to Lord Stair, signed "La Grange," and dated "Orange, 24th August 1716":—

"... In spite of all the diligence I could make to reach this town, I did not arrive in time to find the person in question . . . and consequently we are disappointed of the design you had committed to him and to me; but, Sir, if you will believe me, I think myself able to carry it out alone . . . it must be done by a Frenchman, in order not to be discovered. I have several plans; if that of poison does not succeed, I design to avail myself of the others, either during Mass, in the town, or when out walking, and so get rid of him, and give tranquillity to your whole nation. . . . I am daily seeking to corrupt some-one [in James's service] to make use of the poison, I think it the shortest way, send it to me by Desmenis . . . in a fortnight. . . . I seldom sleep in town . . . he will find me . . . at St Michael's Gate on the bench to the left, after the 8th September. I shall be there waiting for him every day without fail from 12 to 1 o'clock. . . . I missed the most beautiful chance in the world; I had left my pistols so as not to be suspected. I was walking in the suburbs of the town, near a Monastery where the Chevalier was coming with his suite to divert himself. . . . I can tell you that having done the stroke, I could have escaped through the vineyards,

and have swum across the river into Languedoc, before the people of his suite could have got back into the road to the town. . . . The drives he takes in his chariot are even more advantageous. . . . I explain this at length that you may encourage Desmenis and that he may not draw back. . . . I await him with open arms . . . and assure you a million times that I am ready to die for my King and for you, my Lord, my Protector."—*Brit. Mus.*, *Gualterio Papers*, Add. MS. 20,311, f. 342.

APPENDIX K

Luigi di Cugna was sent from Rome to England to inquire into the condition of the Catholics in the three Kingdoms before the Utrecht Conference; in order that the Catholic powers might take their cause into consideration during the peace negotiations. In a letter to Cardinal Paolucci, Secretary of State, dated London, 22nd June 1710, he describes the persecution in Ireland as very severe; in Scotland, since the Revolution of 1688 the Catholics are badly treated; but in England only two of the many sanguinary laws against them are still enforced—the payment of double taxes, and the exclusion from all employments, civil or military. They may go openly to the Embassy Chapels, "and there is not a man of quality able and willing to support a chaplain, in town or in the country, who may not do so without any interference from the Government." There are only three Catholic priests in prison—Matthew Atkinson, condemned to death for having reconciled converts to the Church, but whose sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life in Hurst Castle, at the solicitations of the Austrian and Portuguese ambassadors; Patrick Duke, taken on board a French vessel and imprisoned in the Marshalsea; and William Kennedy, a former chaplain of the Tuscan envoy, detained in a messenger's house on suspicion.[1]—*Pub. Rec. Off.*, *Roman Transcripts Miscellanea.*

Vincenzo Santini, Internuncio at Brussels, wrote to Cardinal Paolucci, 20th November 1716, recommending Abbé Strickland. The Duke of Norfolk and other English Catholic Lords are sending him to assure the Holy Father of their unswerving fidelity to the Catholic Faith; and to ask his advice as to what they may or may not do, in the present most unhappy state of their affairs; to avert the grave vexations to which they are exposed, under the Acts lately passed in Parliament. The Duke of Norfolk, when in Brussels a few weeks ago, informed the Internuncio that he and several of his friends had thought of writing a joint letter to the Pope, praying him to hearken to the instances and explanations

[1] Matthew Atkinson was the last priest imprisoned for his faith in England. He died at a great age in Hurst Castle.

Abbé Strickland would make in their name. But they resolved not to do so; as future contingencies might lay them open to grave accusations [in the event of James's restoration], and they had begged the Internuncio to write in their name.—*Pub. Rec. Off.*, *Roman Transcripts Miscellanea*, 167.

In a further letter of December 31, the Internuncio informs the Cardinal that an English gentleman of the name of Blount has been with him to beg the Pope's good offices with the Emperor on behalf of the English Catholics; and that the new laws may not be strictly enforced against them. They are in no way opposed to King James; on the contrary, they wish him all prosperity; but placed between the inevitable necessity of losing the greater part of their goods, or taking an oath of allegiance, the Internuncio can see that they incline to the latter course.—"Certain it is that some of the Nation, whether Catholic or Protestant, have so real and ardent an affection for their prince, that they are ready to lose their all, be it much or little, rather than make any compact with his adversaries. This valorous resolution of theirs is not, however, the normal state of the rest of the party; who would wish to preserve their estates as well as their religion."—*Pub. Rec. Off.*, *Roman Transcripts Miscellanea*, 167.

APPENDIX L

Letter of James III. to Father Gaillard, Fano, 28th February 1718, after ordering the dismissal of Abbé Lewis Inese from his service: ". . . I feel my heart pierced at seeing how far malice can extend in my regard. . . . All Catholics are not saints, alas . . . and when they think . . . of the necessity I am in of living among Protestants; and shall be of giving them the largest share in places and honours, they cannot support the prospect, and let their bitterness and resentment fall upon me; they would rather never see me re-established, than not to find themselves seated on my right hand and on my left, and they would force me to the measures which were the source of my father's ruin. . . . I am a King; but as the Pope himself told me, I am not an apostle; I am not bound to convert my people otherwise than by my example, nor to show apparent partiality to Catholics, which would only serve to injure them later. . . . I should not be astonished to find that Protestants alone did me justice on certain points, and that Catholics, misled by those who feign probity and zeal, may tax with hypocrisy and cowardice, a policy which is as prudent as it is Catholic. This is, I avow, the only pitfall I can foresee in the way of my own constancy, but with the help of God, nothing shall ever be able to shake it. . . . In the Duke of Mar, as in several others here, I have

found a probity unknown to the greater number of your St Germainists, and I cannot help admiring honesty and hating vice wherever I find them, without finding my Catholicity impaired thereby. . . ." The portion of the letter referring to his fear of hurting the Queen, and to her superiority over all others, is given in the *Life of Queen Mary of Modena*, p. 501.

Many of the Catholics no doubt deserved James's strictures; and he could not foresee that the chief of those whom he extolled, the Duke of Mar himself, was soon to abandon, and subsequently to betray him.

APPENDIX M

Mr Ewald, in his *Life of Prince Charles Edward*, gives, to the exclusion of all other contrary evidence, "John Walton's" version of the relations between James and Mrs Hay; but perhaps the most reckless instance of careless accusation may be found in Mr Sichel's *Sequel to Bolingbroke and His Times*. On the strength of some Oxford gossip in a letter from a Dr Stratford to the Rev. J. Thomas, he takes it for granted that James had a mistress at Rome; and that it was for her sake he had a Protestant chapel "in his palace," as well as a Catholic chapel for himself; ignoring the fact that it had ever been his first care at Bar-le-Duc, Avignon, Rome, to provide a chaplain and a chapel for his Protestant subjects. Mr Sichel also states (p. 21): "During the Scotch rebellion Stair himself had actually to beg English protection for his natural child, Hugh Dalrymple, Stair's cousin-german, "fils du Prétendent." The letter from Lord Stair to Robethon (Stowe MSS., 228, f. 187), written in French, runs as follows:—

"PARIS, *7th December* 1715.

"I beg you to have the kindness to say a word to M. de Bernsdorff on behalf of my cousin-german, Hugh Dalrymple, son of the President, for whom his father would solicit the place of comptroller of excise, vacant by the death of Mr Boden. . . . My uncle is the honestest man in the world, but at the same time the most modest. . . . I owe him a thousand obligations, and I hope my solicitations for his son may be successful. . . ."

Apart from the fact that James, at the age of twenty-seven, could not have had a son old enough to be a comptroller of excise, the reading of the above letter must have been cursory indeed, to have mistaken *Président* [Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Lord President of Session] for *Prétendent*, or to have imagined that it could possibly have had the remotest connection with James III. The above is perhaps the most flagrant instance, of the almost universal system pursued by historians with reference to that Prince.

APPENDIX N

In the month of June 1733, Lord Cornbury sent James III. a list of the peers and other persons who, he believed, would rise on his behalf in case of an expedition into England. He places them in several classes, according to their loyalty to the Stuart dynasty, and entreats the King to communicate this list to no person whatever, as the sending it "is the greatest mark of affection and duty I can give."

"(1) Dukes of Somerset, Devonshire, Montagu, Lord Orkney, Lord Dunmore, Earl of Oxford, Lord Sunderland, Lord Burlington, Lord Coventry, Lord Gower, Lord Bathurst, Sir Paul Methuen, Admiral Norris, Mr Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, Lord Morpeth.

"(2) Dukes of Roxburgh and Montrose, Lords Tweeddale and Marchmont. Earl of Anglesey is, I believe, by himself, as are by themselves in their different ways Walpole, Lord Bolingbroke and Earl Berkeley. In the same class Lord Argyle, General Willes, General Wade and Admiral Wager.

"(3) Lord Carteret and Lord Winchelsea I take to be a class by themselves.

"(4) Duke of Dorset, Lords Chesterfield, Wilmington and Cobham I take likewise to be a class by themselves."

Lord Cornbury gives a short biography of each person ending with such words as "much displeased" or "very little satisfied with the Court," or "ill with the Duke of Hanover," "much displeased with Walpole and has great contempt for the Court." Lord Carteret "has admirable parts and learning, great application, great quickness of judgment, great command of expression, good experience in affairs both foreign and domestick, great spirit and good address, but interested, artful, false and ambitious . . . violent against Walpole, otherwise likely to be determined by interest, and thought to want courage.

"Bolingbroke has all the talents a man can have, but given up to pleasure and prejudice, vain, ambitious, ill with the Court, violent against Walpole, fearing the King's Restoration, I believe, and uneasy that the King's cause goes on without him.

"Walpole, interested, ambitious and wanting courage; ill-treated by the Duke of Hanover, fearing the Opposition.

"Mr Pulteney, pretty high in his disposition, ambitious and vain of popularity, naturally hasty and violent, but on reflection very reasonable and just; has mighty good sense and many great and good qualities, and has honor and integrity, quite out with the

Court and violent against Duke of Hanover, has personal courage and great spirit."

Lord Cornbury also sent sketches of letters to be written by James III. to the chief persons on his list, and advised him to write to the two Archbishops and to "the old Duchess of Marlborough." He expresses himself as much pleased with Colonel Cecil, who has "a warm heart and a cool head," and concludes by urging the King to bring the Prince of Wales with him, and to leave him at the French Court, or on the coast of France.

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